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# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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## THE FEMINIST THEME IN THE DRAMA OF THE SIGLO DE ORO<sup>1</sup>

To construct his over-towering edifice of *comedias* that, in number at least, overshadowed any other dramatist in the world, Lope de Vega, that "Monster of Nature," embraced and assimilated all of the literature known to the Spaniard of his epoch. Drawing freely upon the treasury of romance — whether courtly, chivalric, picaresque or pastoral — upon chronicles, ballads, popular and amatory poems, folklore and proverb literature, — he recombined and remolded these "ingredients" to create a new art, and one which swept into the dusty scrap-heap of oblivion, many histrionic attempts that did not fall in line with the Master's formula. Though scintillatingly brilliant and avowedly "modern," his dramatic works were nevertheless fastened with deep-burrowing roots into the soil of literary tradition. His constant references to the Wheel of Time, or to the debate on country versus courtly life; his rhetorical praise of friendship, his disquisitions on the nature of Love, his reminiscences of the "ladder" over which the reverent courtier ascended from the base mud of a sensual passion to the contemplation of the whitest light of Platonic emanations; his marked use of color symbolism and of allegory, — all point to his wide acquaintance with the favorite themes of medieval and Renaissance letters.

Now, one of these traditional, fundamental themes, which may be called the "raw materials" of his trade of "play manufacturing," was the *feminist theme*, so widely diffused in the preceding literature.<sup>2</sup> So frequently does

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Modern Language Association Meeting at St. Louis, December, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> The feminist theme was early introduced into the Spanish drama, as in Juan del Encina's *Egloga de tres pastores*, in which is found a debate between Fileno, who attacks women with arguments drawn from Boccaccio's *Corbaccio*, and Cardonio, who chivalrously takes up their defense. The theme reoccurs in Diego Sánchez de Badajoz's *Farsa del matrimonio*, or Alvarez de Ayllón's *Comedia Tibaldi* (Cf. J. P. W. Crawford, *The Spanish Drama Before Lope de Vega*, Philadelphia, 1922). Gil Vicente also made use of it, for example in his *Comedia do viujo*, where the widower's eulogy of his deceased wife's virtues constitutes a counterpart to his neighbor's complaint of his wife's defects; or even more markedly in his *Auto da Sibilla Cassandra*, of which the heroine is a forerunner of the man-hating beauty of the Golden Age drama. She refuses to marry because of the inconstancy of men and the misery of married women: "¿Cuál es la dama polida, / que su vida / juega, pues pierde casando, / su libertad cautivando, /

it appear in greater or lesser degree, that I can but outline its importance and manifestation in Lope de Vega and his followers, who never tired of resorting to it in their *comedias*. In fact, it constituted the central theme of a whole cluster of plays that remained fundamentally alike, though a skillful recombination of plot-intrigues lent them the illusion of novelty.

- In this way, their main character, that of the man-hating beauty who militantly set out to avenge women's wrongs, became as fixed a convention as, for instance, the honor plays of the virtuous peasant versus the profligate noble (whether used by Lope in his *Peribáñez*, or Rojas Zorrilla in *Del rey abajo ninguno*, or Calderón in *El Alcalde de Zalamea*); or the theme of a lady who, abandoned by her lover, goes in search of him disguised as a man, and by ingenious machinations wins him back (as in Tirso de Molina's *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* or Calderón's *Rosaura* of *La vida es sueño*);<sup>3</sup> or again the sentimental theme of love versus honor or friendship (as in Lope's *Amar sin saber a quien*), etc.

The feminist theme, with a whole esthetic and intellectual history behind it, was one of the favorite nuclei that the dramatists of the *Siglo de Oro* were fond of elaborating. In the *comedia*, this feminist theme usually takes up the age-old controversy of the superiority of men or women by presenting as the leading character a lady who is a *Siglo de Oro* version of the "Belle dame sans mercy," who has read of the deceptions of men and the evils which women have suffered through love, and has vowed never to fall a victim to passion, but instead sets out to avenge women on their male betrayers. The men, on the other hand, — sad slaves to the beauty of the fair but flint-hearted lady, — voice bitter complaints of women's nature, often in most antiquated and pedantic terms. When to these lamentations are joined the biting jests of a *gracioso*, or the scornful diatribes of a disillusioned misogynist, this picture of women's innumerable defects takes on

otorgando / que sea siempre vencida, / desterrada en mano ajena, / siempre en pena, / abatida y sojuzgada? / ¡Y piensan que ser casada / que es alguna buena estrena!" etc. An extensive debate on the relative defects and merits of women is found in the *Comedia Ypolita* (Cf. the edition of P. E. Douglass, Philadelphia, 1929), in which Jacinto utters a litany of their defects, while Solento enumerates the great and noble ladies of history to disprove his assertion. The *Los famosos de las calidades de las mujeres* (in the *Tercera parte de las comedias de Lope y otros autores*, 1613. Cf. Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses*, Nueva B. A. E., vol. XVIII), is another example of the early use of the feminist theme in the drama, etc. On early Spanish feminism, see my study, *The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion: A Study in Comparative Literature*, N. Y., Publications of the Institute of French Studies, 1931, and *An Anti-Feminist Treatise of Fifteenth Century Spain: Lucena's Repetición de amores*, in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, XXII, 1931, pp. 99-116, and N. Y., Publications of the Institute of French Studies, 1931.

<sup>3</sup> On this wide-spread theme of the Spanish drama of the Golden Age, see M. Romera-Navarro, "Las disfrazadas de varón en la comedia," in the *Hispanic Review*, II, 1934, pp. 269-286.

the aspect of caricature, exactly because of its too faithful clinging to a tradition that had become outworn by Lope's time.

Since the diffusion of the feminist theme in the drama of the *Siglo de Oro* is a vast one, the present study aims only to introduce some thematic order in this almost unexplored grove of intergrowing, age-old themes, and to stress especially the most unmistakable survival of the feminist debate as a direct heritage of medieval and Renaissance literature, such as, for instance, the abstract problem of Woman versus Man, and the controversy concerning the specific merits and defects of the sexes. For throughout the *Siglo de Oro* there was set upon the stage a stern champion of women, unrelenting in her enmity to men, — an absolute feminist and defender of the cause of her sex, who revolts against the superiority and social advantages of men, and demands equal rights for her sisters. These ideas make her a sworn enemy of men, love and marriage, while the reasons she advances for her position are of a most venerable antiquity. So staunchly does she defend her sex, and so tragically does she lament its subjection, that her features are sometimes exaggerated to the point of absurdity. She becomes, — like her medieval grandames who had also championed woman's cause, — a rigid, wooden mannequin with one single function: a hater of men and a fierce avenger of her wronged sisters.

This new champion of women of the *comedia* is at the same time a disdainful beauty. She retains the harsh condemnation of men as the deceivers of gentle and loving women, and sets herself up as an example of how to combat perfidious men's wiles. However, the *Siglo de Oro* dramatist has introduced a significant change: she is gradually won over, whether by feigned disdain of her lover, or his superhuman services and constancy, to the cause of love against which she had been battling, and she ends by resigning herself, without regret, to her "subjection" to Man and Love. This modification was no doubt introduced through the exigencies of the obligatory amenities of a "happy solution," so indispensable to the *comedia de capa y espada*. At the same time, however, it must have proved a welcome literary victory which Lope, as the irresistible lover (and the dramatists of his school, after his example), wished to confer upon himself and upon men, in this challenging quarrel of the sexes that never failed to interest his audience.

Some of the plays of the *Siglo de Oro* which present most typical feminine revolters,—closely patterned after such early examples of Champions of Women as Braçayda of Juan de Flores' 15th century novelette, *Grisel y Mirella*,—are, for example, Lope de Vega's *La vengadora de las mujeres* and

*Los milagros del desprecio*, the *Bandolera de Italia*, or *Enemiga de los hombres*, Moreto's masterpiece, *El desdén con el desdén*, Calderón's curiously intricate *comedia palaciega*, *Afectos de odio y amor*, etc. Such *comedias* offer the same fundamental problem, — the winning of a heartless beauty, a champion of her sex and a sworn enemy of men, — and in this central theme these plays unmistakably belong to the same traditional feminist current. They no doubt offer numerous variations, such as the method of winning the lady, the diversity in the minor characters, the setting, etc., — but the man-hating character of the heroine, her war upon men, which becomes the very essence of the plot, and the hoary feminist arguments upon which the dramatists so generously drew, link these plays to the traditional misogynous and philogynous literature. We shall therefore consider a few of the most typical of these plays in as great a detail as the limits of this study permit us, as outstanding examples of the survival of the feminist theme on the stage of the *Siglo de Oro*.

*La vengadora de las mujeres.*

Lope de Vega's *La vengadora de las mujeres*<sup>4</sup> is a characteristic play based on this feminist theme, and has frequently been indicated as the model of Moreto's masterpiece.<sup>5</sup> In it are summed up the principal traditional arguments of the feminist controversy. The heroine, Princess Laura, emphatically expresses her hatred of all men to her brother, who in vain urges her to accept as a husband one of the many powerful suitors who are seeking her hand, though she treats them with utter disdain. When he presses her to reveal why she hates men when they have done her no wrong, and inquires whether it is not her excessive learning that has made her somewhat "singular," she explains that she has learned of the nature of men from books:

"Había dado en leer  
Los libros más principales  
De historias y de poesías,  
Y de tragedias de amantes.  
Hallaba en todos, los hombres  
Tan fuertes, tan arrogantes,  
Tan señores, tan altivos  
Tan libres en todas partes,

<sup>4</sup> Printed 1621. Cf. the edition of the *Comedias escogidas de...Lope...de Vega*, ed. Hartzenbusch, vol. III, B. A. E., vol. XLI, pp. 508-525.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. C. A. de la Barrera y Leirado, *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro español...*, Madrid, 1860; N. Alonso Cortés, Moreto, *Teatro*, ed. Clásicos castellanos, vol. XXXII, Madrid, (ed. 1922); M. M. Harlan, *The Relation of Moreto's El desdén con el desdén to Suggested Sources*, Indiana University Studies, XI, 1924; R. L. Kennedy, *The Dramatic Art of Moreto*, Philadelphia, 1932; etc.

Que de tristeza pensé  
Morirme..."

She found, at the same time, that women were always berated in literature:

"....¿qué puede ser  
Que en cualquier parte que traten  
De mujeres, ellas son  
Las adúleras, las fáciles,  
Las locas, las insufribles,  
Las varias, las inconstantes.  
Las que tienen menos ser  
Y siguen sus libertades?"

She explains that the reason for this unfair treatment toward women in literature, was because men wield the pens, but in this explanation she merely repeats the words of Braçayda, the champion of women in Juan de Flores' novelette, *Grisel y Mirabella*, and many other early defenders of the fair sex. She then recapitulates the stories of evil women at whom misogynists never tired of pointing an accusing finger in their writings:

"Por ellas no hay Roma o Grecia  
Ni Troya que no se abrase;  
Luego nos dan con Elena  
Y con el robo de Paris.  
De todo tienen la culpa;  
Y los hombres, inculpables,  
Son los santos, son los buenos,  
Y los que de todo saben."

She therefore takes up the defense of several of the most notorious of the heroines of antiquity, who had frequently been singled out as examples of women's evil nature. Like the 15th century Rodríguez del Padrón in his *Triunfo de las donas*, she ingeniously turns the argument in their favor:

"Si Semíramis valiente  
Venció tantos capitanes,  
Su hijo dicen que amó  
Solamente por quitarle  
El laurel de la cabeza,  
Sin otras hazañas grandes  
Que hizo esta famosa reina.  
Si Dido quiso matarse  
Por guardar su castidad  
Que no la gozase nadie,  
Luego hay un hombre que diga  
Que se mató por vengarse  
De los agravios de Eneas,  
Con quien fué huéspeda fácil."

She then continues to rail against the tyranny of men and their enmity to women:

"Desde el principio del mundo  
Se han hecho tiranos grandes  
De nuestro honor y albedrío,  
Quitándonos las ciudades,  
La plata, el oro, el dinero,  
El gobierno, sin que baste  
Razón, justicia ni ley  
Propuesta de nuestra parte."

She resents that only men have the advantages of learning. Why should they then complain of being deceived by women, when this is the only science they give women the opportunity to study?

"Ellos estudian y tienen  
En las universidades  
Lauros y grados, en fin,  
Estudian todas las artes."

She further complains of the inequality of the sexes in civil life also, and declares that "her place in the home" is not sufficient to keep her occupied:

"La mujer es imposible  
Que adquiera, tenga ni guarde  
Hacienda, abogando pleitos  
Ni curando enfermedades.  
Pues en algo esta mujer,  
Si está ociosa, ha de ocuparse.  
Dirán que en hacer labor;  
No es ocupación bastante,  
Porque el libre entendimiento  
Vuela por todas las partes,  
Y no es el hacer vainillas  
En holandas ni en cambrayes  
Escura filosofía,  
Ni el almohadilla lugares  
De Platón ni de Porfirio,  
Ni son las randas y encajes  
Los párrafos de las leyes."

Her brother is grieved at this violent attack, and pleads with her, using a most traditional argument in defense of men, — that Woman was born of Man, that is, created out of his rib, and therefore should remain subservient and show gratitude to him, — an argument used, for example, by the 15th century Fray Martín de Córdoba in his *Jardín de las nobles doncellas*, with a similar intent. Furthermore, he continues weakly, many men have lauded women in verse and prose, while many have sacrificed their

lives for love of them. However, none of these arguments could convince Laura, who was set upon avenging wronged women:

"Ciegos los celos y el amor con ojos,  
Veré primero que querer los hombres  
Ni dejar de vengar a las mujeres."

Her faithful servitor, Julio, also tries to persuade her to take a husband, mockingly urging that she can thus avenge herself the better, since she can "matalle a celos, a enojos y pesadumbres." After her outburst of indignation, she retires to her apartment to instruct her ladies in the wiles of men, quoting generously from the philosophers, especially Plato, on the stages of love, so picturesquely described in Castiglione's well-known "Ladder." Her learned lesson, with which her pupils at heart did not fully agree, however, was interrupted by the announcement that her suitors were coming to see her. She treated them with the coolest indifference, for, like Boccaccio's Fiammetta, who had lamented all too late, she knew that women are lost when they look upon the pleading faces of men:

"Quien mira piensa;  
Quien piensa, admite;  
Y no hay mujer ninguna  
Que si mira, no admite."

Feigning illness, she thereupon leaves, to the despair of the suitors. One of them, Lisardo, who pretends not to love her, finds it difficult to explain how there could be a woman who does not love:

"Ser mujer y no querer,  
Contradice, aunque porfia,  
La humana filosofia."

His valet agrees with him, resorting to one of the oldest arguments, repeated time and again after Aristotle, — that woman desires man as Matter does Form:

"Bien sabe que la mujer  
Ha de apetecer el hombre,  
Cual la materia a la forma."

To win access to the man-hating beauty, Lisardo, more ingenious than his rivals, feigns to have come to see her because of the great learning for which she is renowned even beyond her own country, and offers her a gift of any of his books. When he intentionally names a few lauding men, like *Las excelencias del hombre, en prosas y en versos*, by the Greek, Fidoro, translated into Latin by Ismenio, he arouses her indignation; she is, however, quite ready to accept Filopenes' book on poisons so that she may rid the world of men; and she approves most highly of the *Alabanzas de las mujeres* by the Spaniard, Lauro. The Princess is so impressed with this learned stranger, that she takes him in as her librarian, and the two enter

upon long discussions on the relative merits of men and women. In the midst of these debates, Lisardo has recourse to a famous dictum of Aristotle, — that "Woman is imperfect," — and he thus harks back to the most conclusive argument that anti-feminists had been repeating through the ages:

"Pues si es hombre ocasionado  
 La mujer, y le ha faltado  
 La perfección del varón,  
 Como Aristóteles dice  
 En los *Físicos*, Señora,  
 ¿Cómo tu opinión agora  
 A la razón contradice?"<sup>6</sup>

Lisardo drew upon still another of the hoariest misogynous arguments when he pointed out historical examples of famous men who had been ruined by Love, and therefore, Woman, as for example, Sampson:

"...que el amor  
 Hizo que diese el caballo  
 Sansón a los filisteos."

This use of historical examples from the Bible and mythology to prove the evil power of love and woman over man, had already been amply exemplified by the violent Arcipreste de Talavera in his *Corbacho*, by the learned El Tostado, in his *Tractado... por el qual se prueba por la Santa Escritura como al ome es nescessario amar...*, by Fernando de la Torre, who recounted similar stories in his *De un tratado, despido de mosen Fernando a una dama de religión...*, by Lucena in his *Repetición de Amores*, etc., — who all chose striking examples from the vast gallery of Infamous Women to prove the innocence and guilelessness of men before the eternal temptress. But again after traditional example, Lisardo exempted a few women from his wholesale condemnation of the sex, for many could be lauded for their beauty, "por virtudes, por hazañas y por otras mil razones..."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Boccaccio had repeated, in his violent *Corbaccio*, that "La femmina e animale imperfetto," and, after his example, poets and prose-writers of 15th century Spain reproduced it. It is found, for example, in Bernat Metge's *Somni*; in the abusive *Maldezir* of the poet Torrellas; Lucena expounded it scientifically in his *Repetición de Amores*; Juan de Flores put it in the mouth of his arch-misogynist and champion of men in the debate of the sexes in his *Grisel y Mirabella*; Sempronio tried to cure his master's malady by invoking it in the *Celestine*; and even Cervantes repeated it as a commonplace in his *Don Quijote*. Cf. B. Matulka, *The Novels of Juan de Flores and Their European Diffusion*, p. 136, and *An Anti-Feminist Treatise of Fifteenth Century Spain: Lucena's Repetición de amores*, pp. 16-17. Other plays of the Golden Age allude to the same argument, as, for example, Lope's *La venganza de Tomar*, or his *La despreciada querida*, where we find: "¿Es la mujer, por ventura, / tan imperfeto animal, / que no permite albedrio, / ni recibe voluntad?", etc.

<sup>7</sup> Some misogynists, like Matheolus, in his *Liber lamentationum*, found only one good woman in the world, — the Virgin, a "lirio entre espinas," — while others, out of regard for their ladies, excepted the few — alas! all too few! — who were virtuous, modest and good. Cf. for example, the poem of Fray Iñigo de Mendoza, *Coplas, doce en vituperio de las malas hembras, que no pueden las tales ser dichas mugeres, e doce en loor de las buenas mugeres, que mucho triunphbo de honor merecen*, etc.

Another century-old argument invoked, this time by the servant, is the attack on women's avarice and their love of finery, which had been berated by misogynists from time immemorial. He thus voiced a whole tradition when he boasted how easily a woman's affection could be bought with gifts:

"Como yo mire a las damas  
Con telas y con cadenas,  
Ninguna me pondrá tacha."

But the icy disdain of the haughty lady was fast melting, and she who aspired to be called only "La vengadora de las mujeres" and "Laura diamante," was struggling in the snares of Cupid, since admiration for the intellectual acuteness of Lisardo had opened a way to her affection. This complete change exposed her to the most violent charges traditionally brought against women, — that they are fickle, changeable, weak, inconstant, etc., of the lengthy litany of attributes which medieval preachers had thundered from the pulpit to warn unsuspecting men of the danger of their soul's perdition. One of the ladies-in-waiting, who had been most deaf to the teachings of her mistress, now confessed the inevitable subjection of women to men:

"¿Qué sirve quererse hacer  
De tan varonil sugeto,  
Pues ha de ser, en efeto,  
La mejor mujer, mujer?  
¡Oh cómo se ha conocido  
Que la mayor fortaleza  
De la mujer es flaqueza,  
Y amor el mayor olvido!  
La más firme fué más vana;  
La más grave, lisonjera,  
La más dura fué de cera,  
Y la más cuerda, de lana.  
¡Quién la vió dar cada día  
Preceptos contra los hombres,  
Dándoles infames nombres  
De traidores a porfía!  
Quiera, y déjenos querer,  
Porque vea a quien le toca  
La más principal, más loca  
Y la de más ser, sin ser."

#### *Los milagros del desprecio.*

Lope de Vega's *Los milagros del desprecio*, also issued under the title, *Diablos son las mujeres*,<sup>8</sup> is very similar in theme, and is based upon the

<sup>8</sup> Produced before Dec. 24, 1632; first printed in 1633, in *Parte XXVII* of the *Comedias* of Lope de Vega. Cf. H. A. Rennert, *Notes on the Chronology of the Spanish Drama*, Part II, in *Modern Language Review*, III, 1907-1908, p. 47, and M. M. Harlan, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

same traditional feminist controversy. Don Pedro Girón has been languishing for three endless years in the "Infierno de amor," unable to win a single kind word or glance of the stone-hearted Doña Juana. Even more wrathfully than Laura of the *Vengadora de las mujeres*, she challenges the whole base race of tyrants to a war until death. The first scene in which she appears, seconded by her maid Leonor, sets the bellicose note sustained until she is vanquished by the impish godlet towards the end of the *comedia*:

*Da. Juana:* "¡Mueran los hombres, Leonor!"

*Leonor:* "¡Muera mil veces, Señora,  
Esta canalla traidora,  
Tiranos de nuestro honor!"

Doña Juana continues to berate their inconstancy:

"....Estos tiranos,  
Tiernos, suaves y humanos  
Antes de la posesión,  
Y después de ella crueles,  
Desabridos y ofensores,  
A manos de mis rigores  
Han de morir como infieles.  
La venganza universal  
A sus palabras quebradas  
Y esperanzas malogradas  
Seré con rigor mortal.  
Mujer Atila he de ser  
Contra estos fieros tiranos,  
Contra quien son nuestras manos  
El llorar y padecer;  
Y ¡ojalá que a mi opinión  
Cualquiera mujer se viera  
Reducida, porque fuera  
Cada mujer un Nerón  
Abrasador!"

And Leonor confirms, like Braçayda, the champion of women in Juan de Flores' *Grisel y Mirabella*, how humbly lovers behave before they win, but how deceitful they are after their conquest:

"¡Qué dulzura  
Que tiene para engañar  
El que llega a enamorar!  
¡Con qué amor, con qué frescura  
Que pone en el alameda  
De la esperanza los pies  
Y el alma! Pero después,  
¡Qué abochornado se queda!"

Doña Juana is so indignant at the tears she has seen loving and abandoned women shed, that she shouts a battle cry to arms:

"¡Guerra,  
Santiago! ¡Arma! ¡Cierra, cierra  
Contra los hombres!"

There follow in succession many more of the most traditional arguments used in the century-old quarrel of the sexes. The valet, Hernando, for example, while feigning to abhor all women, has recourse to the medieval monkish diatribe, "Mulier est hominis confusio," so generally incorporated in feminist literature, when he exclaims: "¡Mujeres! ¡Jesús, qué hedor!" and calls woman "El demonio en carne humana."<sup>9</sup> When the *gracioso* is reminded that he himself was born of one of these vile creatures, he replies: "Por eso naci llorando, y sentí el haber nacido."

But true to her rôle as an avenger of women, and worthy follower of Gradissa, the heartless heroine of Juan de Flores' novelette, *Grimalte y Gradissa*, Doña Juana is happy only when she sees men suffer in expiation of the many wrongs they have perpetrated against ladies. Like a new Gradissa, who has carefully studied Fiammetta's lamentations, and has read Ovid's *Art of Love* and the wiles of Pamphilus, she knows of the courtship wiles of men. She therefore advises women not to accept their missives, and if they do, to burn them before reading; nor should they accept gifts, and certainly not give any, for a woman usually follows any gift she grants.

Here, however, Doña Juana was won over by pique, for the apparent indifference of Don Pedro (machinated by his resourceful valet, Hernando), aroused her interest in him and made her confess that she had grown more "human," — just as her maid Leonor had long before given up her raillery against men when she was attracted by Hernando's indifference and ready wit.

*Rojas Zorrilla's Sin honra no hay amistad.*

Rojas Zorrilla offers an interesting variation of the man-hating beauty theme in his *Sin honra no hay amistad*,<sup>10</sup> since he interweaves it with that other traditional theme of the *comedia*, the rival-friends story. Furthermore, as a counterpart to the disdainful and beloved lady, he offers the related theme of the disdainful and beloved gentleman, — a variation frequently found in the *Siglo de Oro comedias*, and of which Lope de Vega's *Virtud, pobreza y mujer* is an outstanding example. In *Sin honra no hay amistad*, the heroine, Doña Juana, beloved by the student, Don Antonio, as

<sup>9</sup> When transposing this Latin sermon on women's imperfections into his *Repetición de amores*, Lucena had declared: "Es la muger principio de pecado, arma del diablo, expulsión del paraiso, confusión del hombre..., muerte suave..., rosa que hiede..." Cf. B. Matulka, *An Anti-Feminist Treatise of Fifteenth Century Spain*...

<sup>10</sup> First printed, 1645, in the *Segunda Parte* of the *comedias* of Rojas Zorrilla. Cf. the edition of B. A. E., LIV, *Comedias de Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla*.

well as his friend, Don Melchor, a soldier, is so inimical to all men for their treachery and deception, that she decides to avenge women by a novel means: by feigning to love them, and then by mocking them when they feel sure of victory:

"Yo he de vengar las mujeres,  
Yo, con invención más nueva  
Que pudiera a la venganza  
Disponer la astuta griega."

Like her man-hating companions in the *comedia*, she describes men's plaintive wooing, which turns to indifference as soon as they have won, and in an outburst of fury and indignation, declares war upon all masculine betrayers. To warn the loving Doña Inés, she describes to her the danger of believing a lover's lying promises: how a foppish gallant passes by, spies her for the first time, and pretends that he has worshipped her for years; he goes passing by the street so that everybody may see him; he sighs, — a sigh of boredom which is mistaken for one of tenderness; he then procures a go-between, after true Ovidian fashion, to deliver a letter; then he speaks to the lady at her balcony and flatters her. Doña Juana skillfully parodies the courtly address of gallants to their ladies, when they call them "sol, luna y cielo," comparing them to *claveles* and *rosas*, *diamantes* and *perlas*, even though they be absurdly ugly and misshapen. Then he pours forth such gusts of sighs that she feels compassion, and lets him enter. Soon he begs her for favors, and if she resists, he draws a dagger, threatening to kill himself. But once he has won her, he becomes very different: *she* now has to become the pursuer, and *he* the pursued, as the following terse imaginary conversation cleverly brings out:

"—Te apartas? — No estés cansada.  
—¿Que tequieres ir? — Es fuerza.  
—Aguarda. — ¡Qué porfiada!  
—Advierte, Señor. — ¡Qué necia!  
—¿Me quieres? — ¡Qué desconfiada!  
—¿Te cansas? — No me detengas.  
—Yo lloraré. — ¡Oh, lagrimitas!  
—¿No me has de ver? — Cuando pueda."

Then he repeats this performance with another lady, and so on. For these reasons she pronounces herself an avenger of women against these deceiving traitors:

"Pues mueran aquestas aves  
Que bastardamente esperan  
Usurpar de nuestro honor  
Los rayos de su pureza;  
Yo he de vengar las mujeres..."

Hoy a todos sus engaños  
Todo mi ardor se carea,  
A un envejecido mal  
Una novedad divierta...  
Mujer soy, y sólo vuelvo  
Por las mujeres, que es deuda  
Que pago a la obligación  
De nuestra naturaleza..."

She also wants a struggle until death:

"Porque halle el amor venganzas,  
Satisfacciones la ofensa,  
Porque las mujeres vivan  
Y porque los hombres mueran."

Here again, the man-hating beauty is won over through jealousy, for the lackey of her admirer stirs up her interest by making her believe that his master loves another lady. But this *dénouement* is scarcely motivated, and comes largely as an obligatory one, for the man-hating character of the heroine remains throughout the center of the action.

#### *Lo que son mujeres.*

Another *comedia* of Rojas Zorrilla, *Lo que son mujeres*,<sup>11</sup> offers a curious variant on the man-hating beauty theme, in that the disdainful Serafina is depicted as a counterpart to her younger sister, Matea, who loves all men indiscriminately. To Serafina, who is obliged to marry in order to keep her inheritance, all men seem ridiculous:

"¿Adónde hallaré yo un hombre  
Que parezca así, así?  
No hallo uno que bueno sea;  
Todos me parecen mal;  
¡Oh fuego en todos!"

She would prefer not to marry at all, but since she is forced to do so, she yearns to:

"¡No topara yo un hombrón  
De aquéllos del tiempo antiguo!  
Un hombrón extraordinario....  
Quiero un hombre de capricho  
Y no del uso ordinario."

Her quarrel with her sister constitutes a veritable debate, — an attack on men by Serafina, and their defense by Matea:

*Da. Serafina:* "La de todos, no responda."

*Da. Matea:* "La de nadie, déjeme ella."

*Da. Serafina:* "¿Todos los hombres no dice  
Que te agradan?"

<sup>11</sup> In the *Parte segunda* of the *comedias* of Rojas Zorrilla, Madrid, 1645. Cf. the edition of B. A. E., vol. LIV, pp. 191-211.

*Da. Matea:*

"¿Quién lo niega?

Cada uno por algo es bueno;  
 Yo los quiero desde afuera  
 Por inclinación, y hasta ahora  
 No ha habido quien me merezca."

When Serafina charges men with being traitorous, false, faithless, insincere, Matea waves away these objections by eulogizing their sacrifices for women:

*Da. Matea:*

"¿Negarásme

Que nos buscan, nos requiebran,  
 Que se arriesgan al desaire  
 Y que a la muerte se arriesgan?  
 ¿Por algún hombre habrá muerto  
 Mujer alguna en pendencias?  
 ¿Cuántos por ellas murieron?  
 Sus honras, vidas y haciendas,  
 Todas son de las mujeres."

*Da. Serafina:* "Y todas son de cualquiera."

*Da. Matea:* "Yo los quiero por la parte  
 Que me toca, que obedezca  
 Mi planeta me permite;  
 Benévolos es el planeta  
 Que a los hombres me ha inclinado;  
 Benévolos fué la estrella  
 Cuyos influjos en mí  
 Me fuerzan."

Here, as in the other plays dealing with a beauty supposedly disdained, the scornful Serafina would accept any one of the four suitors she had rejected for sundry reasons, the moment that they feign to transfer their homage to her poorer and less attractive sister. Her confession, wrung from her through wounded pride and spite, elicits ironical comments from the suitors on the amorous nature and fickleness of women, while at the same time Serafina berates men's inconstancy. Their debate is an echo of a 15th century feminist controversy:

*Da. Serafina:* "Presto los hombres olvidan."*D. Marcos:* "Presto las mujeres quieren."*Da. Serafina:* "¡Mujeres, lo que hombres son!"*D. Marcos:* "¡Hombres, lo que son mujeres!..."*Da. Serafina:* "Mujeres, todos los hombres  
 Son unos."*D. Pablo:* "Unas son siempre  
 Todas las mujeres, hombres."*Da. Serafina:* "Son traidores."*Rafaela:* "Son aleves."*D. Marcos:* "Adoran aborrecidas."*D. Pablo:* "Adoradas aborrecen."

*Da. Serafina:* "¡Mujeres, lo que son hombres!"

*D. Gonzalo:* "¡Hombres, lo que son mujeres!"

This *comedia* seems to be, to a certain extent, a parody of the man-hating beauty theme, for when Serafina finally chooses a husband, he refuses to marry her because she loves him only out of vanity. On the other hand, Matea, the defender of men, who loved all four before they expressed admiration for her, despairs them as soon as she is loved. At the same time, the cynical *casamentero* indulges in a lengthy account of the foibles and grotesqueness of both men and women who seek to marry. Rojas Zorrilla therefore prides himself on the novelty of his play: "Porque escribió esta comedia sin casamiento y sin muerte."

*El desdén con el desdén.*

The masterpiece of Moreto, *El desdén con el desdén*,<sup>12</sup> which has often been studied from the point of view of its sources and relationship to other plays,<sup>13</sup> is also replete with traditional feminism. In fact, the real kinship

<sup>12</sup> Printed in 1614, in the *Primera Parte* of the *comedias* of D. Agustín Moreto y Cabaña. Cf. the edition of N. Alonso Cortés, *Clásicos castellanos*, XXXII.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. note 5 above. *El desdén con el desdén* is an outstanding example of the success that the feminist theme in the Spanish drama enjoyed in Europe. In France, for example, Molière imitated it in his *La Princesse d'Élide* (1664); Lessage used it in *Le Bachelier de Salomonque* (1736) for the episode of D. Andrés Alvarado and Da. Cintia de la Carrera; Henri Jouffroy issued his *Donna Diana, Comédie d'Agustín Moreto, imitée de l'espagnol* (Paris and Leipzig, 1838); Habeneck translated it as *Désdain pour dédain*, in *Les Chefs-d'œuvre du Théâtre espagnol ancien et moderne*, vol. I (Paris, [1862]). In Italy, it was used not only by Raffaello Tauro for his *Gli Equivoci intricati, ovvero La Contessa di Barcellona*, but especially by Carlo Gozzi, both in *Il puntiglioso amoro* (Venezia, Valvasense, 1763, ascribed to his authorship: "Ein komisches Singpiel in drei Aufzügen, die Worte sind vom Grafen Gozzi, die Musik von Herrn Galuppi, sonst Buranello genannt," as the *Almanach des Theaters in Wien* announced when it was performed in Vienna in 1774); and also his *La principessa filosofa* (1772), the form through which it became famous in Europe (published in the *Opere del Co. Carlo Gozzi, Venezia, Colom-bani, 1772-74*, 8 vols.; 1791, 10 vols., and separately printed as: *La principessa filosofa, dramma*, Venezia, 1800). Gozzi's excellent rendering was the basis of its wide vogue in Germany and Austria: it was translated by F. A. C. Werthes, in his *Theatralische Werke von Carlo Gozzi, aus dem Italiänischen übersetzt* (Bern, bey der typographischen Gesellschaft, 1777-9); it was adapted by Fr. Schletter, in *Die philosophische Dame oder Gift und Gegengift, ein Lustspiel ... nach dem Italienischen des Grafen Gozzi frey bearbeitet* (Wien, beym Logenmeister, 1784); and became especially famous through the rendering of Carl August West (pseudonym of Joseph Schreyvogel): *Donna Diana. Lustspiel in drei Aufzügen. Nach dem Spanischen des Don Agustín Moreto* (Original Ausgabe für die Oesterreichische Monarchie, nach freundschaftlicher Übereinkunft mit dem rechtmässigen Verleger. Wien, bei Johannes Bapt. Wallishäuser, 1819). This version was based not only on Moreto, but also on Gozzi's reworking, and became one of the most successful of German plays. First performed in Vienna, in 1816, it was staged no less than 122 times by 1894, in one theatre alone. During these years it appeared on the stages of city after city in Germany and Austria, winning success even in Prague and Danzig, and kept appearing in many reprints until as late as 1923. Another German reworking of Gozzi's play appeared anonymously in 1821: *Theodora. Schauspiel in drei Abteilungen nach Carlo Gozzi* (Hamm, 1821); C. A. Dohrn translated it from the Spanish as *Trotz wider Trotz* (*Spanische Dramen*, vol. II, 1841). It was also used as opera text by Carl Wittkowsky, *Donna Diana, Oper in drei Akten. Text frei nach Moreto. Musik von Heinrich Hofmann* (Leipzig, c. 1886), and by E. N. Reznicek, *Donna Diana, Komische Oper. Frei nach der C. A. Westischen Übersetzung des gleichnamigen Lustspiels von Moreto* (Leipzig, c. 1894, appearing in at least 3 editions). In England it served as the source of George Hyde's *Love's Victory; or the School*

which it has with the many plays that have been suggested as its sources is precisely this underlying feminist theme, — for most of the other similarities resolve themselves into stock-in-trade devices of plot construction in the *comedia*, and are found duplicated in many plays of the period. In this brilliantly intricate *comedia*, the heroine Diana, for whom "casarme y morir es uno," had, through study and reading, conceived such a hatred of men, that she refused to love:

"Deste estudio y la licción  
De las fábulas antiguas,  
Resultó un común desprecio  
De los hombres, unas iras  
Contra el orden natural  
Del Amor con quien fabrica  
El mundo a su duración  
Alcázares en que viva;  
Tan estable en su opinión,  
Que da con sentencia fija  
El querer bien por pasión  
De las mujeres indigna . . ."

To show her disdain of men and their inconstancy, she has surrounded herself with pictures of ladies of antiquity who abhorred men, such as Dafne fleeing from Apollo, or

"Anaxarte convertida  
En piedra por no querer;  
Aretusa en fuenteccilla,  
Que al tierno llanto de Alfeo  
Paga en lágrimas esquivas."

Her favorite pastime is to listen to songs cursing the power of love. She agrees so profoundly with their tenets that, upon hearing one, she asks herself in indignation: "¡Que hay mujer que quiera bien! ¡Que haya pecho agradecido!" To her, death would be preferable to marriage: "...Primero

for *Pride, A Comedy in Five Acts* (London and Edinburgh, 1825); and of J. W. Marston's *Donna Diana*. "A Comedy, in Three Acts. Adapted, and to a great extent rewritten, from the German version of Moreto's 'El Desden con El Desden.'" First performed in December, 1863 (in *The Dramatic and Poetical Works of Westland Marston*, London, 1876, vol. II, pp. 1-65). It was even translated into Hungarian: *Közönyt közönynel; vigjátek bárom felvonásban*. György V. (Pest., Kisfaludy-Társaság, Spanyol Színműtár. Füz. 2, 1870). Cf. the Catalogues of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) and of the British Museum; Gisbert Freiherr von Vincke, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Bühnengeschichte. Spanische Schauspiele in Deutschland*, Hamburg and Leipzig, 1893, pp. 148-70; H. H. Rusack, *Gozzi in Germany* . . ., N. Y., 1930; E. Carrara, *Studio sul teatro ispano-veneto di Carlo Gozzi*, Cagliari, 1901; A. Gassier, *Le Théâtre espagnol*, Paris, 1898; Palau, *Mensual* . . .; Hurtado y Palencia, p. 692; etc. Several feminist plays were early issued outside of Spain, as, for example, Lope's *La vengadora de las mujeres*, in 1649, Bruxelles, H. A. Velpius; or his *Comedia de cosario a cosario*, also in 1649, Bruxelles, Velpius, and again in 1689. In 1704 Moreto's *El desden con el desden* appeared in Bruxelles, in the collection: *Comedias escogidas de diferentes libros . . .* (Manuel Texera Tartaz, publisher). Cf. J. Peeters-Fontainas, *Bibliographie des Impressions espagnoles des Pays-Bas*, N. Y., Publications of the Institute of French Studies, n. d., pp. 35, 140.

rendiré el cuello a un cuchillo." The only man whom she would tolerate was the *gracioso*, Polilla, who pretended that he also was an enemy of Love, which he described as:

"Amor, señora, es congoja,  
Traición, tiranía villana,  
Y solo el tiempo le sana,  
Suplicaciones y aloja.  
Amor es quita-razón,  
Quita-sueño, quita-bien,  
Quita-pelillos también  
Que hará calvo a un motilón."

Given as she is to amorous sophistry, she waxes eloquent when her suitors ask her the reason for her disinclination to love. She has read in history that all ruins and tragedies have been born of love:

"Cuantas ruinas y destrozos,  
Tragedias y desconciertos  
Han sucedido en el mundo  
Entre ilustres y plebeyos,  
Todas nacieron de Amor.  
Cuanto los sabios superaron,  
Cuanto a la filosofía  
Moral liquidó el ingenio,  
Gastaron en prevenir  
A los siglos venideros  
El ciego error, la violencia,  
El loco, el tirano imperio  
De esa mentida deidad  
Que se introduce en los pechos  
Con dulce voz de cariño,  
Siendo un volcán allá dentro.  
¿Qué amante jamás al mundo  
Dió a entender de sus efectos  
Sino lástimas, desdichas,  
Lágrimas, ansias, lamentos,  
Suspiros, quejas, sollozos,  
Sonando con triste estruendo  
Para lastimar, las quejas  
Para escarmantar, los ecos?..."

Here again, as in *Sin honra no hay amistad*, for example, the disdainful lady is won by indifference. The feigned misogyny of her admirer, Don Carlos, at first piques her curiosity, driving her to fix her attention upon the only man who does not pay due reverence to her beauty. Later, when her wounded vanity makes her bend every effort to break down his resistance, only to mock him once he has confessed his love, her interest grows into admiration for his supposed firmness. Again, her frequent discussions with

him on problems of love, reveal to her that she has met her match in dialectical subtleties. Her coquetry, mocked at each turn by the nimble wits of her admirer who, though dying of love, acts his rôle of misogynist to perfection, proves of no avail. With bewildering intricacy, Moreto brings out the psychological transformation of Diana, as when, for example, her indignation at Don Carlos' indifference is confirmed by the wily *gracioso*, causing her, in true feminine fashion, to veer straight around to take up his defense. Because of this skillful motivation, we are not surprised that, as soon as jealousy is added to the slights she has already suffered, — since all her former admirers, in the solidarity of men against their single adversary, now feign to turn their attention to more receptive ladies, and even Don Carlos asks the hand of her lady-in-waiting, — she can no longer repress her feelings. She has to confess that the fire of passion has melted the ice of her indifference, and at last she proclaims her love for Carlos.

In this play the traditional feminist arguments are neither so direct nor obvious as, for example, in *La vengadora de las mujeres*, or in Calderón's *Afectos de odio y amor*, as we shall see presently. It is, nevertheless, present, both in the militantly man-hating character of Diana and in the sly thrusts against women's ways of the worldly-wise *gracioso*, but far more cloaked by subtle casuistry of love. The *comedia* recalls, in fact, the courtly debates on abstract amatory questions, in which gentlemen and gentlewomen vied in displaying brilliant repartee. *El desdén con el desdén*, therefore, with its greater emphasis on psychological observation, offers a further, and more modern development of the traditional feminist theme. The ingenious intricacy of the plot, and the finely observed transformation in the character of Diana, link the *comedia* to the newer and more convincing type of man-hating beauty, more plausible for the epoch in which it was written.

#### *Afectos de odio y amor.*

Calderón's *comedia palaciega*, *Afectos de odio y amor*,<sup>14</sup> is an outstanding example of his very dexterously complex theatre. His heroine, Cristerna, is here even more violently pro-feministic than her literary precursors. Whereas Laura, Doña Juana and Diana shout their battle cry in the name of women's freedom, Cristerna, like a new Amazon, goes out to win equal rights for them. Furthermore, she acquires a new vitality as a literary creation, since she is the portrait of a living feminist, no less a personage than the renowned Queen Christine of Sweden, daughter of the redoubtable Gustavus Adolphus. From her earliest youth she had been brought up as

<sup>14</sup> Composed before Feb., 1658. Printed in the *Tercera parte* of the comedias of Calderón, 1664. Cf. my study, "The Courly Cid Theme in Calderón's *Afectos de odio y amor*," in *Hispania*, XVIII, 1935, pp. 63-76, note 1.

a man, trained in battle, instructed in the arts and sciences, and became a patroness of famous thinkers of Europe. Above all was she known, however, for her refusal to marry, claiming that her inclinations rebelled against this yoke, — and she even abdicated in order to retain her freedom, according to the legends circulating about her.<sup>15</sup>

Like the historical "Prodigo del Norte," Calderón's Cristerna, from her earliest youth, had been brought up untamed, like a priestess of the chaste Diana, following the goddess in her hunting, her martial exploits, her freedom from love, and her hatred of men:

"No sólo pues de Diana  
En la venatoria escuela  
Discípula creció; pero  
Aun en la altivez severa,  
Con que de Venus y Amor  
El blando yugo desprecia."

She was determined to do away with the abuse of woman's subjection to man, in spite of the eagerness with which her hand was sought by powerful princes:

"No tiene príncipe el Norte  
Que no la idolatre bella,  
Ni príncipe tiene que  
Sus esquiveces no sienta,  
Diciendo que ha deuitar,  
Sin que a sujetarse venga,  
Del mundo el infame abuso  
De que las mujeres sean  
Acostumbradas vasallas  
Del hombre, y que ha de ponerlas  
En el absoluto imperio  
De las armas y las letras."

As soon as she becomes queen, she decrees laws to put women on the same intellectual and political footing as men, with statutes advanced enough to please even a modern feminist. She abolishes the law that prevented them from inheriting. Furthermore, since men acquire ascendancy over women by keeping them ignorant and unskilled in arms, — a feminist argument of long standing, as we have already seen, — she decrees that all women who feel so inclined may study letters and the military art, and should be granted the same public offices as men, and on the basis of merit only:

"Y porque vean  
Los hombres que si se atrasan

<sup>15</sup> On the identification of Calderón's heroine with Christine of Sweden (1626-1689), see Johan Vising, "En Comedia om drottning Kristina av Sverige av Pedro Calderón de la Barca," in *Ord och Bild* (Stockholm), XXXV, 1926, pp. 65-75.

Las mujeres en valor  
 E ingenio, ellos son la causa,  
 Pues ellos son quien las quita  
 De miedo libros y espadas,  
 Dispone que la mujer  
 Que se aplicare, inclinada  
 Al estudio de las letras  
 O al manejo de las armas,  
 Sea admitida a los puestos  
 Pùblicos, siendo en su patria  
 Capaz del honor, que en guerra  
 Y paz más al hombre ensalza."

To prove the social equality of the sexes, she points to the famous women of Greece and Rome. But more modern than her contemporary and preceding pro-feminist defenders, she pleads, not for the superiority of women, but for the equality of the sexes:

"Si el mérito debe dar  
 Los premios, y éste se halla  
 En la mujer, ¿por qué el serlo  
 El mérito ha de quitarla?  
 ¿No vió Roma en sus estrados,  
 No vió Grecia en sus campañas,  
 Mujeres alegar leyes,  
 Mujeres vencer batallas?  
 Pues lidien y estudien; que  
 Ser valientes y ser sabias  
 Es acción del alma, y no es  
 Hombre ni mujer el alma."

Learned and brave as she is, she considers love a blind passion. She asks the question, "¿Qué es amor?", so often repeated in the *comedias* of the *Siglo de Oro*, and gives as the answer:

"¿Es más  
 Que una ciega ilusión vana,  
 Que vence, porque yo quiero  
 Que venza?"

To this traditional man-hating beauty theme Calderón links, strangely enough, the Courtly Cid theme, making his heroine offer her hand in marriage to the avenger of the slaying of her father.<sup>16</sup> Yet this very enemy, Casimiro, whose head she seeks, has long been pining for her, in despair of her disdain, and typifies quite another attitude of early feminism, — that of the humble and reverent admirer of Woman as the most perfect creation of God. Like the plaintive Leriano of the *Cárcel de amor*, who never lost his faith in the haughty Laureola even though she drove him to his death,

<sup>16</sup> Cf. my study, "The Courtly Cid Theme in Calderón's *Afectos de odio y amor*," loc. cit.

and with his last breath proclaimed her only below God himself, — so Casimiro, like a belated troubadour, sings the divinity of Woman:

"Sólo por mujer, señora,  
Libre una vez en mi arbitrio,  
Os eligiera por dueño;  
Que tiene casi divino  
Su ser, no sé qué absoluto  
Imperio sobre el destino,  
Que, sin saber a quien mandan,  
Mandan con tanto dominio,  
Que servirlas no es fineza,  
Y es no servirlas delito."

And it is precisely this unstinting service, the performance of impossible feats, the abject submission of a slave to his lord, that wins over the heartless Cristera, that makes her revoke her own laws, and bow to the yoke of love, content to let the world whirl its perennial course:

"Estése

El mundo como se estaba,  
Y sepan que las mujeres,  
Vasallas del hombre nacen;  
Pues en sus afectos, siempre  
Que el odio y amor compiten,  
Es el amor el que vence."

This *volte-face* of Cristera makes Turín, the *gracioso*, summarize the litany of woman's imperfections with his comment: "Ahora digo, y digo bien, que son diablos las mujeres."

The *Afectos de odio y amor* is thus a telling example of the persistence of the traditional feminist theme even well into the 17th century. Its man-hating protagonist, its plot, the faithful reproduction of age-old feminist arguments, were fully utilized by Calderón to glorify the contemporary historical feminist, Christine of Sweden, by creating her literary parallel, while he diversified his plot by the highly dramatic motives that the Courtly Cid theme had made so appealing.

#### *Encontráronse dos arroyuelos.*

Juan Vélez de Guevara offers us one of the most direct and extensive survivals of the feminist controversy in his *Encontráronse dos arroyuelos*.<sup>17</sup> His *comedia* juxtaposes a violent man-hater, Ortensia, to an equally militant woman-hater, Don Félix, to make two opposing streams meet. The struggle between these protagonists, until their forced union, presents a typical feminist controversy modernized for the *comedia* of Lope's school.

<sup>17</sup> In *Parte veinte y tres de comedias nuevas, escritas por los mejores ingenios de España*. En Madrid, por Joseph Fernández de Buendía, Año 1665, pp. 315-349. I have consulted the copy in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America.

Here the hero, Don Félix, "galán de estudiante," opens fire against the fair sex by his lengthy enumeration of their vices, from which all too few women are free:

"Mira, confessarte quiero,  
 Que nunca la libertad  
 Rendí al impulso violento  
 Del amor, y sus engaños,  
 Ni al hechizo lisongero  
 De la hermosura; pues todas  
 Las mugeres, excluyendo  
 Las que por su heroyca fama,  
 Su sangre, su nacimiento,  
 Su honestidad, su hermosura,  
 Son imitación del cielo....  
 En fin, las que no son éstas,  
 Porque aquéstas son las menos,  
 Son engañosas, son falsas,  
 Son trayadoras, son despeños  
 De las almas, y las vidas,  
 Son disfraçado veneno,  
 Que detrás de un manto bebe  
 La curiosidad del necio."

Thus versed in feminine wiles, he boasts of his freedom from Love. However, more subtle in his hatred than his 15th century misogynous grand-sires, he does not reproach women to their faces, but instead feigns to love them all, determined to abandon them once they confess themselves his:

"Yo, aunque discreto no soy,  
 Soy prevenido a lo menos,  
 Y conozco sus engaños,  
 No han de hospedarse en mi pecho  
 Sus fingidas tiranías,  
 Libre he de vivir, y essento  
 De crueidades aleves:  
 Y assí a todas las festejo,  
 A todas las enamoro;  
 A todas las galanteo;  
 A todas llamo mi vida,  
 Mi amor, mi gloria, mi cielo;  
 Y a ninguna quiero bien...."

His latest campaign promises him further conquests. He has learned that his father's friend has two beautiful daughters: the elder, Ortensia, is a "portento de discreción y hermosura," who speaks Latin, composes verses, and is versed in law, while the younger, Alfonsa, is exactly her opposite, for she is "muy boba y sencilla," and falls in love with all men, for as soon as they pay her a compliment, she forthwith asks them to marry her, — an

opposition in the characters of two sisters similar to that of Rojas Zorrilla's *Lo que son mujeres* or Lope's *La dama boba*. This opposite nature is well expressed by the maid, Juana, who is fully aware of her mistress' hatred of men:

"Hasta en esto, no te assombres,  
A Alfonsa no te pareces;  
Tú a los hombres aborrees,  
Y ella se inclina a los hombres:  
Tú los tratas con desdén,  
Y ella con cariño igual,  
A todos les quieres mal,  
Y a todos los quiere bien;  
Tú con agrado fingido,  
Burlas su esperança necia;...."

Ortensia, as disdainful as she is fair, cannot keep numerous suitors from seeking her hand. To amuse herself, therefore, she begins to open the fourteen missives her admirers have sent her, for she intends to treat men as cruelly as they deserve:

"Déjalos morir, que son  
Los hombres, si bien lo infieres,  
Más falsos que las mugeres:  
Y oigamos con atención  
Sus engaños..."

So bored is she, however, by their amorous trivialities, that she sets aside their letters in disgust. She prefers to return to her studies, only to grow indignant when she discovers that the first book she had opened is Ovid's *De arte amandi*, where are to be found:

"...Las quimeras  
De amor, y sus tiranías,  
Han de ser noble materia  
De mi estudio....  
Sus fingidas apariencias,  
Sus engaños, sus traiciones  
He de ver....  
Las ficciones, las cautelas  
De los hombres, a quien yo,  
Por aversión de mi estrella,  
Tan justamente aborrezco...."

Like Don Félix, she intends to avenge her sex by warring against deceiving males:

"Rayo he de ser vengativo,  
Que a rigores desvanezca  
La falsedad de los hombres:  
No ha de quedar diligencia,  
Que no intente por vengar

Tan repetidas ofensas,  
Como han hecho a las mugeres."

Her indignation flames into rage as she reads Ovid, whom she flings to the floor, as she blames him for teaching men perfidy:

"Y tú inventor de quimeras,  
Maestro de lidiandades,  
Que engañas con lo que enseñas:  
Muere a mis manos, que yo,  
Huyendo de tus cautelas,  
Me retiro...."

But just as she is about to leave, Don Félix appears seeking a refuge from the police who are pursuing him because of his participation in a duel, — so that the arch-man-hater is confronted with the arch-misogynist. The donjuannesque Félix calmly rises to the situation, disarms the lady's fear with a string of compliments, by means of which he secretly hopes to avenge men, as he reveals in his *aparte*:

"Destra suerte ha de pagarme  
Su engaño, con mi cautela,  
Assí vengaré a los hombres."

However, he has met one woman who has divined his intentions, for Ortensia observes to herself that he, like all men, has come to deceive. The only reply he can therefore win from her for all his sugar flattery, is a cool "esto mismo dicen a quantas encuentran los hombres," and a harsh dismissal. All men bore her to such a degree, that she would like to do away with them:

"Estos necios me marean,  
Y han de morir en las redes  
De mi engaño, y mi cautela."

Her maid, who observes that she is "muy terrible con los hombres," draws from her a violent confirmation of her hatred of men:

"¡Ay, Juana! no me los nombres,  
Porque acrecientas mi ira  
Al ver en su modo estrafío,  
Que son hijos del engaño,  
Y padres de la mentira.  
Si le vieras hazañero  
Con la prisa, y desenfado  
Que se fingió enamorado  
Perdieras el juicio."

The cool reception of that "mujer malvada...tan enemiga de los hombres," as the *gracioso* describes her, has only spurred Don Félix on to curb her arrogance, and an opportunity soon presents itself. It chances that, during a festivity, Ortensia and Alfonsa, both veiled, go walking in the

meadow, — at a safe distance from each other, for they profess little sisterly sympathy, — when Don Félix appears. Boldly he sets to complimenting the first lady he encounters, who happens to be Alfonsa, little realizing that Ortensia was the other mysterious visitor. He soon has reason to regret his advances when the simple-minded Alfonsa, who has taken literally all his stereotyped eulogies, bluntly asks him to marry her. In the meanwhile, Ortensia rages against this example of masculine treachery enacted before her very eyes, and indignantly asks if her "iras contra los hombres" were not well founded. To add to her fury, her ill-mannered cousin from Vizcaya, unaware that he is addressing his promised bride, stupidly describes her as learned, but "presumida, vana," and far from beautiful, and confesses that he is marrying her only for her dowry.

She later has occasion to revile the inconstant Don Félix who comes to her home, bent upon overcoming this woman who seeks to "vengar de los hombres los agravios repetidos." When he now has the effrontery to tell her that he loves only *her*, she bursts out:

"Mas me ofende el persuadiros  
A que de vuestras cautelas  
No he penetrado el motivo  
Con que a todas engañáis,  
Y que sois un fementido,  
Falso, traydor, alevoso,  
Ingrato; pero ¿qué digo?  
¿Yo enojada, y descompuesta?  
Llevóse el afecto mío  
Sin elección del discurso,  
Perdonad mis desvaríos. (*Enterneциda.*)  
Idos con Dios; idos luego,  
No aguardéis a que el activo  
Volcán, que me abrasa el pecho,  
Reviente en incendios vivos,  
Y seáis de mis venganzas  
Horror, escarmiento, aviso,  
Con el fuego de mis ojos,  
O el ayre de mis suspiros."

This speech already shows Ortensia weakening. As so frequently happens with the man-hating beauties of the *comedia*, Ortensia falls in love with the one she considers her arch-enemy, precisely because of her jealousy of her sister's apparent success, and his disdain. However, their marriage is brought about, not by the customary confession of defeat of the man-hater, but by the command of her father, who finds this the only solution to pre-

serve her good name, since he finds her in Don Félix's home, whither Octensia had come to seek revenge on the masculine traitor.

The frequency with which these militant Champions of Women tread the boards of the *Siglo de Oro*, indicates how popular the traditional feminist theme remained throughout this epoch. A further proof of the approval with which the "ilustre senado" stamped this theme of the man-hating beauty, is her frequent appearance in a milder form. In play after play she keeps emerging, — not so much as a champion of her sex seeking vengeance against all male traducers, and spurred on by the abstract war of the sexes, but as jealous of her own precious liberty, after having seen the misery to which so many loving ladies have been subjected. Nevertheless, in her hatred of men, she remains linked to the fiercer, single-purposed Champions of Women, for she also revolts against masculine oppression, and in doing so, invokes more or less directly the traditional arguments of feminism. This softening frequently makes for the deepening out of the heroine's character; she now acquires a more convincing air of actuality, while at the same time her ultimate (and expected) reconciliation to love and men is more gradually motivated.

As is natural, the plays presenting this milder form of heartless beauty offer many variations. Sometimes such a lady is the center of the dramatic action, as in Lope de Vega's *De cosario a cosario*; sometimes she offers a parallel to the loving heroine, as in Tirso de Molina's *El Vergonzoso en palacio*, where the man-hating Serafina is a counterpart to her amorous sister, Madalena; again, she may be used as a minor, though significant, character, as in the case of Tisbea, in the *Burlador de Sevilla*. We are obliged to treat this secondary form of the man-hating beauty theme less extensively,<sup>18</sup> merely indicating some of the more striking examples of its wide and varied use.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Ricardo de Turia (pseudonym of the Valencian, Pedro Juan Rejaule) offers a rudimentary form of the man-hating beauty theme in his early comedy, *La burladora burlada* (printed in the *Norte de la poesía española*, Valencia, Aurelio Mey, 1616. Cf. the text in the B. A. E., vol. XLIII). He has Isabella confide that she does not wish to marry: "No sin causa hueye mi cuello / del esposo el yugo grave, / pues si hay alguno suave, / sin duda es el no tenello." However, this trait of her character is not fully worked out, for we learn that she already has a suitor. Her indifference is directed to another gallant who has fallen in love with her, but cannot win a response. Her marriage to her scorned admirer is brought about by a compromising rendezvous to which he gains access while she was awaiting her lover. This play thus offers a *dénouement* similar to that, for example, in Tirso's *Vergonzoso en palacio* and Juan Vélez de Guevara's *Encontráronse dos arroyuelos*.

<sup>19</sup> I cannot here discuss another extensive and important aspect of the feminist theme in the drama of the Golden Age: the numerous plays devoted to historical and mythological heroines who had become almost symbols of womanhood, such as those on chaste Lucretia, valiant

*De cosario a cosario.*

In *De cosario a cosario*,<sup>20</sup> for example, Lope de Vega offers such a modified treatment of the man-hating beauty theme. Here, instead of making his heroine, Celia, a self-appointed Champion of Women, he accounts for her disdain as rising from her critical observation of men, in all of whom she finds defects. Her ironical comments on the long list of her suitors have a true contemporary ring: she dismisses some because they are *lindos*, others are *barbados*, predestined, according to her, to be hairy anchorites living in the desert; others are *mal hechos, bachilleres, confiados, necios*, so that the only recourse left her is creating "un marido de barro."

This exacting beauty is described as a coquette:

"¿La que nunca quiso bien,  
La ninfa de su desdén  
Y la sirena del Prado?  
¿La linda, la transparente,  
La cristalina señora,  
La que a todos enamora  
Y escribe lo que no siente?"

She is especially indignant at woman's subjection to man, which she explains as a punishment of God for Eve's disobedience. She observes, however, that frequently by subtlety, subjected women have subjected men, — precisely the course she has chosen to pursue, as she explains in a well-turned sonnet:

"Quedó toda mujer, por ley divina,  
Sujeta al hombre, y fué de Dios sentencia:  
Perdió la libertad la inobediente;  
Que a estar sin ella su belleza inclina.  
Con esto algunas veces determina  
Romper el yugo, de su culpa herencia,  
Y con sutil ingenio y diligencia  
Oprimir los ingenios imagina.  
Tal vez rinde a sus gustos y placeres,  
¡Oh libertad! para que más te asombres,  
Los hombres de más varios pareceres;  
Tal vez sus letras, armas y sus nombres;  
Que es el mayor blasón de las mujeres,  
Siendo sujetas, sujetar los hombres."

Virginia, pathetic Dido, constant Penelope, fatal Helen of Troy, the warrior queens of old, the Amazons, etc. Nor can I discuss here the frequent plays dealing with saintly women who were, of course, considered examples of the perfect woman, as in *Limpieza no manchada*, *Santa Brígida*, or the *Once mil virgenes*, *Santa Ursula*, *Prodigo de Etiopía*, *Santa Teodora*, etc. Also outside the direct scope of this study are the frequent plays devoted to famous historical or legendary women, like *La doncella de Orléans*, the *Judía de Toledo*, the pathetic Inés de Castro, *Santa Teresita de Jesús*, etc.

<sup>20</sup> Composed between 1618-1621. Cf. M. A. Buchanan, *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays*, University of Toronto Studies, 1922, p. 21, and M. M. Harlan, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

However, because of the disdain Don Juan shows her, she, like so many other disdainful ladies, succumbs to this weakness, and finally confesses that she, who had been siren of Madrid:

"En cuyo pequeño río  
Fui sirena, en cuyo soto  
Verde fui ninfa de Ovidio,  
En cuya calle Mayor,  
Banco de Flandes, peligro  
Del mar, donde se anegaban  
Coches, que son sus navíos;  
En cuyo Prado fui un olmo  
Entre sus fuentes dormido,  
Que vi las de algunos ojos  
Que murmuraban rendidos.  
Pero ya soy quien se rinde  
A amor loco...."

It remains for another lady, Lisarda, whose love for Don Fernando is but tepid, to break out into apostrophes against men's inconstancy. Again, by direct references to Madrid, she lends the feminist theme an air of actuality:

"La causa de ser aquí  
Las mujeres recatadas  
En su honor, son las burladas,  
De que mil ejemplos vi.  
Hay hombres con tanto engaño,  
De tan varios pareceres,  
Que tienen tantas mujeres  
Como días tiene el año.  
Y como ellas ven que son  
De tan ciega variedad,  
No ponen la voluntad  
Sino con grande ocasión.  
Don Juan, amor hay aquí;  
Los hombres la culpa tienen,  
Si a no ser queridos vienen."

*El vergonzoso en palacio.*

Serafina, of Tirso de Molina's *El vergonzoso en palacio*,<sup>21</sup> is another interesting form, and one of the earliest, of the man-hating beauty theme. Her character is rather delicately portrayed, and displays a fine psychological plausibility, since she voices no militant hatred of men, but rather a personal desire to preserve her own well-being. Like Laura of *La vengadora de las mujeres*, she is fond of study and poetry, and refuses to preoccupy

<sup>21</sup> Composed at the beginning of the 17th century. Printed in the *Cigarrales de Toledo*, 1621. Cf. the edition of Américo Castro, *Tirso de Molina, Clásicos castellanos*, vol. II, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1922, pp. LV, LXXIV.

herself with the cares of love. Her disdainful temperament is well known:

“ . . . Sabida  
Tu condición desdeñosa,  
Ni inclinada ni rendida  
A las coyundas de amor,  
De quien tan pocos se libran . . . ”

When asked if she is not cruel to be so indifferent, she pertly replies:

“ Y será justa cosa,  
Por ser para otros piadosa,  
Ser yo cruel para mí? ”

She has thus far refused to love, because she knows its evil consequences:

“ No me ha dado  
Hasta agora ese accidente,  
Porque su provecho es poco,  
Y la pena que da es mucha. ”

And, when she later sees the transport of rage to which her refusal of Don Antonio's love has led him, she is glad she has never become its victim:

“ ¡Hay locuras semejantes!  
¿Es posible que sujetos  
A tan rabiosos efectos  
Estén los pobres amantes?  
¡Dichosa mil veces yo,  
Que jamás admití el yugo  
De tan tirano verdugo! ”

When, therefore, like a new Narcissus, she falls in love with a portrait of herself, dressed as a man, believing it to be another, she laments the “weakness” which her spirit has shown, and regrets that she is no longer as she used to be. Thus here, as in the other plays based on the theme of the disdainful lady, she finally succumbs to the charms of love, and is obliged to marry through a subterfuge of her constant adorer.<sup>22</sup>

#### *El burlador de Sevilla.*

In no less a masterpiece than his *Burlador de Sevilla*,<sup>23</sup> did Tirso de Molina again exploit the appeal which the man-hating beauty offered as a dramatic theme. Here the character of the fishermaid, Tisbea, stems di-

<sup>22</sup> In this play are introduced numerous other elements of the feminist theme, as, for example, in the subplot of the *graciosos*, who really burlesque a typical pastoral theme. The shepherdess, Melisa, who had shown an utter disdain for Tarsio, drives him to despair. He finally goes off, but time and absence make him realize his folly. Upon his return, he becomes the disdainful one, and Melisa, now madly in love with him, has to do the pursuing. The cured Tarsio now berates her, and women in general, for their fickleness: “Sois mudable: ¿qué queréis, / si en señal deso os ponéis / en la cara tantas zaudas?” [e. g., cosmetics.] The former plaintive poet now mocks her tears of reproach: “Aunque lloréis un diluvio,” etc.

<sup>23</sup> The first edition appeared in the *Doce comedias nuevas de Lope de Vega Carpio, y otros autores. Segunda parte.* En Barcelona, por Gerónimo Margarit, 1630. Cf. the edition of Castro, Clásicos castellanos, p. LXXV.

rectly from this current. She also boasts of her freedom from love's tyranny:

"Yo, de cuantas el mar,—  
Pies de jazmín y rosa,—  
En sus riberas besa  
Con fugitivas olas,  
Sola de amor esenta,  
Como en ventura sola,  
Tirana me reservo  
De sus prisiones locas..."

Or again:

"...Segura me entre tengo,  
Que en libertad se goza  
El alma que amor áspid  
No le ofende ponzoña."

She alone can laugh at lovers' plaints:

"Y cuando más perdidas  
Querellas de amor forman,  
Como de todo río,  
Envidia soy de todas."

She thanks Love for sparing her from his net, and boasts that, though she is the delight of all the fishermen, she treats them only with harshness:

"Desprecio soy [y] encanto;  
A sus suspiros, sorda;  
A sus ruegos, terrible;  
A sus promesas, roca."

Even the gentle Anfriso, modest, generous, and endowed with all graces, who daily adorns her hut with green twigs and plays sweet songs to soften her, cannot win the disdainful beauty, "porque en tirano imperio vivo, de amor señora..."

She finds pleasure in his pain, and bliss in his torments. Though all the fishermaids are dying for love of him,

"...Y yo, todas las horas,  
Le mato con desdenes:  
De amor condición propia,  
Querer donde aborrecen,  
Despreciar donde adoran;  
Que si le alegran, muere,  
Y vive si le oprobian."

Little did she realize the danger in which Love now placed her because of her boastfulness. Like the typical man-hating beauty of the *comedia*, she also fell a victim to the mischievous Cupid: the moment she set eyes upon Don Juan, still in a faint from his shipwreck, she knew that she was vanquished. She now expressed an only hope in the refrain: "¡Plega a Dios que no mintáis!" And because of the unescapable passion which Don Juan

inspired in her, even the mocking Tisbea, who knew so well that "sois los hombres traidores," succumbed, only to be abandoned by the arch-seducer. Her cries of anguish interrupted the feast which the mariners had prepared for her guest, as she now confessed her mistake:

“¡Fuego, fuego, zagalas, agua, agua!  
¡Amar, clemencia, que se abrasha el alma!  
Yo soy la que hacia siempre  
De los hombres burla tanta;  
Que siempre las que hacen burla,  
Vienen a quedar burladas.  
Engañome el caballero  
Debajo de fe y palabra  
De marido...”

And, when on her way to demand justice of the king, her constant lament became: “¡Mal haya la mujer que en hombres fia!”

Tirso de Molina doubtless had a double purpose in creating the character of Tisbea. As a moralizing *fraile*, he took a well-known literary type of the heartless beauty, and meted out to her a deserved punishment for her arrogance. At the same time, however, her very nature became the supreme test of Don Juan's seductive powers, which bent to his will even the maid most impervious to love's deceptions. By resorting to the heartless beauty, therefore, Tirso dramatized Don Juan's power over women even more forcefully, to make him loom up as a Satanic force of passion: he was the irresistible lover who won over, by love or deception, noble ladies or humble shepherdesses, his closest friend's beloved, and even a man-hating beauty who had prided herself on her freedom from the tyranny of love!

\* \* \*

Another *comedia* of Lope de Vega, *La hermosa fea*,<sup>24</sup> offers a further instance in which the man-hating rôle of the heroine is subordinated to the plot. Only at the beginning is the character of Estela, duquesa de Lorena, depicted as violently inimical to men, as her lady-in-waiting explains about a gallant who had apparently escaped her charms:

“Quedara, al mayor desdén  
Que ha visto el mundo, sujeto,  
Que de cuantos la han servido,  
Ninguno agradarla puede;  
Y es mejor que libre quede,  
Que a lo imposible rendido.”

After this revelation, the action is concentrated on the battle of wits between the gallant Ricardo, who plans to overcome her arrogance by a

<sup>24</sup> Performed in Valencia before April 26, 1632. Printed in 1641.

feigned disdain, and the Duchess, who attempts to make him confess his error, only to spurn him when he expects it least. Here again her love is aroused by jealousy, so that she is glad to marry the one she has most scorned.

Mira de Amescua's *Galán, valiente y discreto*<sup>25</sup> is another example of the initial feminist theme. His duchess Serafina is opposed to men and marriage, and, like Diana of *El desdén con el desdén*, believes this yoke to be synonymous with death:

"....Si el casarse  
Es un vivir con morirse,  
¿Por qué muerte ha de decirse  
Aquellos que es cautivarse?"

Her greatest regret, now that she has inherited the Duchy of Mantua, is that she is obliged to marry against her inclination, for she alone is exempt from love: "...Yo sola me hallo sin saber qué es amor ni deseallo."

After this, however, the plot assumes so much importance, that the man-hating character of the heroine is relegated to a minor position, and is recalled only occasionally. Her distrust of men leads her to invent a scheme whereby she may test which of her suitors loves her for herself, and not for her power. She therefore changes rôles with her maid, — a frequent comedy device of the period, — and gradually falls in love with one who had been warned of her plan. Though she struggles against this new feeling, for she realizes:

"Y agora para querer  
Tengo andada la mitad.  
Mas soy tan dueña de mí  
Que he de vencerme y no amar;  
Del amor he de triunfar.  
No quiero amor..."

But her determination is of no avail, and she finally bestows her hand most willingly on the gallant who, out of love, had been deceiving her as she had tried to deceive him.

Occasionally, the feminist theme is relegated to serve as a general background, a *raison d'être* of the plot. Such is the case in Moreto's *Hacer remedio el dolor*,<sup>26</sup> where the heroine, Casandra, formerly a man-hater, had fallen in love in spite of herself, as she narrates in her life story:

".... Me di al estudio  
De las naturales letras,  
Historia, Filosofía

<sup>25</sup> Printed in Valencia, 1636.

<sup>26</sup> First printed in 1658 or 1659 (Cf. Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 203). I have used the *suelta* edition, ascribed to the joint authorship of Gerónimo Cáncer, Juan de Matos Fragozo and Agustín Moreto. At the end: "En Valencia, en la Imprenta de la Viuda de Josef de Orga..., 1762.

Y Humanidad; de manera,  
Que creciendo mi hermosura  
Con la opinión de discreta,  
Comúnmente de Milán  
Me llamaban la Minerva.  
Entre muchos caballeros,  
De cuyas amantes quejas  
Burlaba yo...."

Among these one suffered six long years of her disdain, and his constancy was finally crowned with her love. But, like a typical man, — the object of philogynous scorn, — his nature was such that he loved madly only while a lady withheld her favor, but as soon as he had won her, he left to undertake another conquest. The plot of the *comedia*, therefore, consists of her pursuit of the faithless one, and her clever manœuvres in arousing in him new interest and a new love, a situation such as is found in Tirso's *Don Gil de las calzas verdes*. This she does, however, not only because of her lover's slight to her, but to prove to women that men can be won only by disdain:

".... Hoy, en favor  
De las mugeres, he hecho  
Experiencia, de que el ser  
Su estimación más o menos,  
Sólo en su desdén consiste;  
Y pues Carlos es exemplo,  
Volviendo a quererme más,  
Quando yo más le desprecio,  
Nadie mi dueño ha de ser..."

— "Except Carlos," for like all *comedias* of this type, her pursuit had to end in man's victory and marriage.

An interesting variant of the feminist theme as background, is offered in Francisco de Leiva's *La dama presidente*, where Doña Angela, a prodigy of legal learning, is at the same time a professed man-hater, renowned as the "sierpe más hermosa." However, she falls in love with her gallant admirer, the disguised César Ursino, the first time he addresses her. She, therefore, who had been "a los hombres tan tirana," now struggles with her shame, not wanting to confess her weakness, instead of continuing her attack on men.

\* \* \*

Other plays, again, while based on this same central theme, nevertheless combine it with other elements to create a more complex plot or psychology. Thus, for example, Diana of *El perro del hortelano*, while at bottom a man-hater, quickly falls in love. Her dilemma then rises from her pre-

occupation about the social position of the man she loves, for she fears to marry a lover beneath her station. Her internal conflict of love versus social *convenances* makes her appear as a "scold," as a bad-tempered "shrew" who loses her harshness towards men only when love overpowers her completely. Another variation of this man-hater theme is found in *La dama boba* where Nise, a learned blue-stocking, is in love with Laurencio, but upon losing him to her foolish sister, breaks out into a diatribe against men, — their inconstancy and deceptions. The transformation of this "disdain theme" through its combination with other motives, constitutes the subject of many another popular *comedia* of the Golden Age, — too numerous to enumerate here.<sup>27</sup>

We have also had occasion to point out a further interesting variation of the feminist theme: — that of the disdainful man (in *Encontráronse dos arroyuelos* and *Hacer remedio el dolor*). In Lope de Vega's *Virtud, pobreza y mujer*, Don Carlos is another example, for he loves the impoverished Isabel, and yet abandons her as soon as he has won her, because she does not pique his jealousy, and her discretion bores him. He is ultimately won back, however, by the patience, self-sacrifice and constancy of Isabel, who becomes a *comedia* version of the medieval "Patient Griseldis." Isabel is depicted as very poor, yet most reserved and honorable. Though courted by many gallants, she loves only Don Carlos, and on his promise to marry her secretly, for he claims that his uncle would disinherit him if he learned of the marriage, she admits him to her home. However, though Don Carlos loved her, he did not want to marry her, and the ceremony was to be but a false one, for, bearing in mind that most men have been ruined by women, he was determined, like a champion of his sex, to mock its opponents in order to avenge the wrongs to which it had been subjected: "Para vengar tantos hombres que han engañado mujeres."

He makes harsh reproaches to women:

"Si nacen, Julio, mil daños  
De cualquier planta mujer,  
¿Qué te admira que en un hombre  
Haya alguno, pues forzado  
De amor lo intentó?"

On the other hand, great stress is here laid on the matchless virtue of

<sup>27</sup> For example, Lope de Vega's *La dama melindrosa*; Moreto's *El poder de la amistad* or *Yo por vos y vos por otro*; Tirso de Molina's *Celos con celos se curan*; Pérez de Montalván's *Los desprecios en quien ama*; Salado Garcés' *A lo que obliga el desdén*; Calderón's *Para vencer a amor, querer vencerle*, and many others which have been pointed out by one or another historian of the stage, and studied from a different point of view, — as possible sources of Moreto's masterpiece. Cf. M. M. Harlan, *op. cit.*, and R. L. Kennedy, *op. cit.*, etc.

Isabel who, though abandoned and poor, nevertheless knows how to defend her honor, and is lauded as a miracle of womanhood.

Still another variation of the misogynist in the *comedia* is the inconstant lover of the Don Juan type, who woos all ladies because he loves none, and justifies his conduct by a doctrine of inconstancy. This type, in fact, seems to become the customary *Siglo de Oro* version of the early, abusive misogynist: he now shows his disdain of women by merely toying with their affections, bent on keeping himself free from all cares and consequences. These plays seem to hark back to the Pamphilo-Hylas tradition, frequently appearing in French literature in the 16th century, and no doubt going back to Italian examples. This type, of which Hylas, the anti-Céladon of the *Astrée*, is the most accomplished example, defends inconstancy as a rule of conduct in life and love. As Professor G. L. van Roosbroeck well points out in his study of this type in France: "There had grown up in the sixteenth century even, in reaction against the hero embodying the Platonic love conception which had spread from Italy, a type which served sometimes as a contrast and sometimes as a foil to these conceptions. It was a type which railed at the flowery language and the absurd actions of the exponents of 'l'amour éternel', it was a literary impersonation of 'l'esprit gaulois' which voiced a revolt against the unreal ideals of the pastoral novels and plays, insisted upon the realities of life and love; who claimed the right of lovers to 'change' and even erected inconstancy into a rule of conduct" (in the chapter, "Is Tircis, Corneille?" of *The Genesis of Corneille's Mélite*).

In the *comedia*, this tradition of the inconstant lover is found in many plays, in most of which the hero falls headlong into the snares of undivided love by meeting a beauty who despairs all men, — and therefore arouses an interest which the softer-hearted ladies had never won. This type is well represented, for example, in Calderón's *No hay burlas con el amor*, where the bluntly woman-hating Don Alfonso (who, in the opening scene had flown into a rage when he learned that his lackey had committed the heinous "crime" of falling in love), himself becomes the doting slave of Beatriz, the *précieuse ridicule* he had mocked. Similarly Don Pedro, the "galán de todas", meets his match in the disdainful Doña Inés, "la dama sin galán," of *Cuántas veo tantas quiero* by Sebastián Rodríguez de Villaviciosa and Francisco de Avellaneda.<sup>28</sup> Don Gaspar, who cannot understand why a man should love only one lady, is intrigued by Doña Clara, so disdainful of "este animal imperfecto del hombre," in *El amor al uso* by Antonio de Solís,

<sup>28</sup> This work was early translated into Dutch as *De wispelturige Minnaer*, e. g. "The Inconstant Lover," in 1705, by Enoch Krook. Cf. J. A. Van Praag, *La Comedia espagnole aux Pays-Bas au XVII<sup>e</sup> et au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Amsterdam, n. d., pp. 79-80.

translated into French by Scarron as *L'Amour à la mode*. A most exhaustive defense of the inconstant lover is provided by the libertine, Don Fernando, of *El socorro de los mantos* by Francisco de Leiva, yet he also falls a victim to the man-hating Doña Leonor, who had declared: "A cualquier hombre aborrezco con rebelde obstinación." A similar character occurs in Fulgencio Rodríguez Esquivel's *Galantear a todas y amar a ninguna*, etc. I intend to discuss this type in a separate study.

*Feminist Arguments in the Comedia.*

The *comedias* we have discussed are sufficient examples to prove how popular the feminist theme, in its principal manifestation, — the controversy of the sexes, — remained on the stage of Lope's epoch. At the same time, we have had occasion to point out, not only this principal element, but numerous arguments adduced to prove the merits or defects of either men or women. Now, these individual arguments, — many of them of a venerable antiquity, — are so frequently introduced into the drama of the *Siglo de Oro*, that scarcely a play of this age does not hark back to them more or less directly. Even in plays so far removed from the gay comedies of intrigue that we have been mainly considering, as the somber *Peribáñez*, we find that the hero, overwhelmed by his impending dishonor, laments the difficulty of protecting a beautiful wife. Similarly, in *El mejor alcalde el rey*, one of the lighter scenes, in which Elvira shyly confesses her love for Sancho, makes effective use of the argument about women's devious ways, her never speaking frankly: "When she says yes she means no, and when she is silent she consents."<sup>29</sup>

We have already seen, in *Encontráronse dos arroyuelos*, for example, the lengthy list of epithets that dramatists never tired of drawing from this well stocked store-house of tradition; how they heaped up adjectives describing women's defects<sup>30</sup> as if they were pronouncing medieval sermons against "Woman, the Devil and the Flesh,"<sup>31</sup> branding them as amorous,<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Lope de Vega, *El mejor alcalde el rey*, ed. of the Clásicos castellanos, vol. XXXIX, p. 181: "Advierte que las mujeres / hablamos cuando callamos, / concedemos si negamos: / por esto, y por lo que ves, / nunca crédito nos des, / ni crueles ni amorosas; / porque todas nuestras cosas / se han de entender al revés."

<sup>30</sup> In *Encontráronse dos arroyuelos*, the *gracioso* Talego, for example, compares "las dueñas" to "mulas de alquiler": "En ser descuidadas, flojas / falsas, sin que aya remedio / de sacarlas de su paso: / en que siempre anden haciendo / reve[r]encias, en que comen, / como no cueste dinero / quanto ven, y quanto agarran..."

<sup>31</sup> I can here give only a few typical examples of the numerous allusions to traditional feminist arguments in the *comedias*. On their early use by misogynists and philogynists, see the chapter, "The Debate Between Torrellas and Braçayda," in *The Novels of Juan de Flores...*, pp. 138-157.

<sup>32</sup> The amorousness of women is frequently mocked in the *comedias*, especially by Tirso de Molina, who was most skeptical of their virtue. Cf. his: "Ríome yo de que digan / que ha habido mujer forzada, / desde Elena, la robada." (*La villana de Vallecas*). In his *No hay peor*

inconstant and changeable as the weathervane,<sup>33</sup> weak and fragile as glass,<sup>34</sup> craving the impossible, liking what they see others like,<sup>35</sup> ungrateful, avaricious,<sup>36</sup> crafty, cruel, capricious, intriguing, ingenious,<sup>37</sup> loquacious and unable to keep a secret,<sup>38</sup> fond of costly and fantastic clothes,<sup>39</sup> and making an exaggerated use of cosmetics,<sup>40</sup> etc., etc. On the other hand, their vir-

*sordo* he is even more emphatic, when he has D. Diego mocked for seeking "una beldad, doncella en la voluntad": "¡Qué difícil buscamiento! / Détela sólo Platón, / formada allá en sus ideas, / o hazla hacer, si la deseas / dese modo, en Alcorcón. / ¿De voluntad virginal? / Signo es que se volvió estrella. / ¡Aun no hay física doncella, / y báscula tú moral!" (On Tirso's misogyny, see A. Bonilla y San Martín's edition of *La villana de Vallecas*, Madrid, 1916, pp. XII-XIV). —Lope de Vega also alludes to this trait: "Las más que han sido forzadas / han mentido contra si." (*Los novios de Hornachuelos*. Cf. A. Castro's edition of Tirso de Molina, loc. cit., p. 35, note to v. 456).

<sup>33</sup> Woman's changeability and inconstancy is often berated, for example: "Qué bien echaba de ver / que palabras de mujer / tienen la firma del viento." (Lope, *El remedio en la desdicha*); "Bien confirmó la mudanza / de las damas madrileñas" (Lope, *De casorio a casorio*); "Pero mujer y mudanza / tienen un principio mismo" (Tirso, *El vergonzoso en palacio*); "¡Ah, pobre honor! Si eres alma / del [hombre], / ¿por qué te dejan / en la mujer inconstante, / si es la misma ligereza?" (Tirso, *El burlador de Sevilla*). Harking back to the same classic tradition, Lope, for example, compares woman to a weathervane, as in *El guante de doña Blanca* or *El perro del bortelano*.

<sup>34</sup> Woman's lack of resistance is alluded to in numerous works, as, for example: "¿Cómo a la primera conquista / te rendiste? Eres mujer" (*El hombre de bien*); "Soy pensamientos y humo / y mujer, que es harto menos" (*El príncipe melancólico*), while she is likened to glass in *La dama boba, El perro del bortelano*, Moreto's *No puede ser*, etc.

<sup>35</sup> For example, "Porque todas las mujeres / aman lo que ven amar, / por envidia o por pensar / imaginados placeres" (*De casorio a casorio*).

<sup>36</sup> References to woman's avarice are numerous. Alarcón's *La verdad sospechosa* contains several allusions to it: "Virgilio dice que Dido / fué del troyano abrazada, / de sus dones obligada / tanto como de Cupido. / ¡Y era reina! No te espantes / de mis pareceres rudos; / que escudos vencen escudos, / diamantes labran diamantes"; or "Pero que adviertas es bien, / si en estas estrellas tocas, / que son estables muy pocas, / por más que un Perú les den." Guillén de Castro, in his *El Narciso en su opinión*, also alludes to it ironically: "Pero en la corte ver quiero, / de mí a vos, cual más conquista, / dando galas a la vista, / o a la esperanza dinero"; or again, Tadeo declares that gold in Madrid is "de las damas espejo."

<sup>37</sup> The inventiveness of women sometimes serves as the very subject of a whole *comedia*, and frequently it is referred to. Thus when the bewildered Caramanchel finally discovers that Don Gil was a woman, he comments: "Eso bastaba para encender treinta mundos", and in the same play Quintana exclaims: "¿Cuándo las mujeres no supistes encender?" (*Don Gil de las calzas verdes*). Similarly, there is found in *La villana de Vallecas*: "Si el demonio engañó a Eva, / prueba en mi ama; que si caerá."

<sup>38</sup> Madalena, of *El vergonzoso en palacio*, confesses, for example, that "Woman and silence are incompatible," while the worldly Tristán of Alarcón's *La prueba de las promesas* asserts: "Lo he sabido; que en efecto / es mujer y me ha querido, / y, como es niño Cupido, / no sabe guardar secreto."

<sup>39</sup> This is one of the oldest reproaches made to women by misogynists, and is included, for example, in the *Vengadora de las mujeres*: "No hay nación que en mayor precio / las tenga ni más las sirva. / El hombre que vale menos / gasta en vestir su mujer / más que en el dote le dieron."

<sup>40</sup> The vanity of women in disguising their blemishes with cosmetics, or enhancing their beauty by artificial means, is a never-ending source of jibes against the sex. Lope uses it frequently, as, for example, in *Al pasar del arroyo*: "Nunca ponéis en cuenta las mujeres / aquello de sentaros al espejo / con tanta multitud de redomillas, / que no hay pintor que tenga más colores"; or in *La noche toledana*: "El solimán [cubre] los defectos / de la cara de las damas"; or in *Amar sin saber a quien*: "¿Hay cosa que imite más / del buen Madrid a las damas, / compuestas de más mixturas / que un órgano, y disfrazadas / con la salsa del vestido,

tues are not entirely neglected. For example, their constancy is often stressed, as in Lope's *Virtud, pobreza y mujer*, or Pérez de Montalván's *La más constante mujer*.<sup>41</sup>

Another widely-used feminist argument to which the dramatists of the Golden Age had frequent recourse, was the list of great heroines of antiquity and the Bible, as irrefutable historical proofs of women's worthiness. In the *comedia* are therefore found endless references to Penelope, Julia, Artemisa, Elisa, Lucretia, Atalante, chaste Diana, and many others, to prove how great and virtuous women have been, and consequently can be.<sup>42</sup> Yet the opposite was also true, for the evil women of history, such as Medea, Circe, or curious Pandora, were frequently adduced as examples of the perennial malice which is lodged in the sex. One of the most conclusive proofs of women's innate defects had, of course, been Eve, whose curiosity had brought perdition to mankind. This Biblical argument of the original sin, staging Adam, Eve, and the Serpent, as well as that of the "rib" out of which woman had been created, are ever present, in jest or in earnest, in the *comedia*.<sup>43</sup>

/ (mejor la llamaras falsa)? / Cuidado del que manduca / hilos, y aun hilas, y masca / entre el ambar y la seda / solimán, azogu y zarza" (Cf. M. A. Buchanan and B. Franzen-Swedelius' edition of *Amar sin saber a quien*, N. Y., Holt, [1920], pp. 67, 164-5, note to v. 1547). In *Villana de Vallecus* is found: "Maravillas / hacéis las mujeres, raras / pues de cuatro salserillas / sabéis sacar veinte caras"; while similarly in Calderón's *Darío todo*: "Por eso otras que se pintan / de matices diferentes, / no sólo se mudan, pero / se enmudan con los afeites" (Cf. A. Castro's edition of *Tirso*, loc. cit., p. 24, note).

<sup>41</sup> For example, woman's constancy is lauded in *La campana de Aragón*: "Deja la vana arrogancia / y el preciarte de quien eres, / que tuvo el mundo mujeres / ejemplo de fe y constancia."

<sup>42</sup> For example, *Las bizarrias de Belisa* lists a number of famous women warriors: "Mujeres celebra el mundo / que han gobernado escuadrones. / Semíramis y Cleopatra / poetas e historiadores / celebran, y fué Tomiris / famosa por todo el orbe." *Valor, agravio y mujer* lists even more heroic women: "Semíramis, ¿no fué heroica? / Cenobia, Drusila, Draznes, / Camila, y otras cien mil, / ¿no sirvieron de ejemplares / a mil varones famosos?" This play also offers a list of famous women poets who might serve as examples to the women of the day, since, instead of devoting themselves to sewing and weaving, they also were composing comedies: "Mas no es nuevo, pues están / Argentaria, Safo, Areta, / Blesilla, y más de un millar / de modernas, que hoy a Italia / lustre soberano dan, / disculpando la osadía / de su nueva vanidad." (Cf. M. Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritoras españolas...*, Madrid, 1903-5, I, No. 535, p. 179 ff.). The displeasure which learning in a woman aroused in men is well expressed by the father, Octavio, in *La dama boba*, who exclaims: "¿Quién le mete a una mujer / con Petrarca y Garcilaso, / siendo su Virgilio y Taso / ylar, labrar y coser? / Ayer sus librilllos vi, / papeles y escritos varios; / pensé que devocionarios, / y desta suerte leí: / Historia de dos amantes, / sacada de lengua griega; / Rimas de Lope de Vega, / Galatea de Cervantes, / el Camoës de Lisboa, / los Pastores de Belén, / Comedias de don Guillén / de Castro, Liras de Ochoa, / Canción que Luis Vélez dijo / en la Academia del duque / de Pastrana... Mas que os canto, por mi vida; / que se lo quise quemar." Cf. R. Schevill, *The Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega, Together with La dama boba*, Berkeley, Cal., 1918, pp. 214-215.

<sup>43</sup> Cf., for example, the discussion of man's quest for his lost rib in *La dama boba*: *Finesa*, "... Si Adán se durmió, / buena costilla le cuesta." *Clara*, "Pues si nació la mujer / de una dormida costilla, / que duerma no es maravilla." *Finesa*, "Agora vengo a entender, / sólo con esa advertencia, / porque se andan tras nosotras / los hombres, y en unas y otras / hacen tanta

A still quainter argument persists in the plays of the period: the philosophical proof which claims that all names representing fine and lofty objects are feminine in gender, while those representing base, material ones are masculine, — an argument elaborated in the 15th century, for example, by Rodríguez del Padrón, who had illustrated this point by recalling that "alma" is feminine, whereas lowly "cuerpo" is a masculine noun. A curious allusion to this argument is found in Lope de Vega's *El remedio en la desdicha*, where the misogynous *gracioso* proves that woman is not capable of true love as man is, since in that case love would have been called "Amora" instead of "Amor." In *Virtud, pobreza y mujer* a similar argument is humorously adduced in proof of women's greed: the words "demanda," "deuda," and "petición" are feminine because they are in essence womanly attributes.

\* \* \*

The examples of feminism which we have offered demonstrate how sensitive the theatre of the Golden Age in Spain remained to feminist themes, as manifested in the form of debates or controversies of the sexes in numerous variations, or in pro- or anti-feminist utterances, or merely in allusions to traditional arguments. The playwrights could draw upon a whole current of feminist literature, — not only Spanish, but European as well, — that had, for centuries, been accumulating to form a well plenished storehouse of authoritative opinion. This vast body of literature had been gleaned, not only from antiquity and stamped with the approval of Aristotle, Plato, Euripides, Juvenal or Pliny; from Biblical dicta or the anathemas of Church Fathers and medieval monks; from folk literature; but also from the army of misogynists and philogynists who had been waging a never-ending feminist war throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, — whether they were the early Boccaccio or the later Castiglione in Italy; the *Roman de la Rose*, Christine de Pisan, Matheolus, Martin le Franc, or François Billon in France; the Arcipreste de Talavera, Rodríguez del Padrón, Juan de Flores or Acosta el Africano in Spain; or the esteemed Agrippa de Nettesheim whose praise of women became European through its Latin form, to mention only a few of the most outstanding. These and many more had reproduced traditional opinion, or had added newer contemporary observations, on the relative merits and defects of the sexes, on woman's distinctive character, or, to a lesser extent, on her social position and reclamation of rights.

diligencias; / que si questo no es asilla, / deben de andar a buscar / su costilla, y no ay parar / hasta topar su costilla." R. Schevill, ed. cit., p. 191. Cf. also the pun of Limón in *Amar sin saber a quien*: "Pero quien dió la costilla, / no tengo por maravilla / que se obligase a la costa."

Its treatment in the *comedia* is rather striking in that it attempted to modernize and bring "up to date," as it were, the age-old feminist themes, either by introducing living personages, such as the historical Christine of Sweden, or portraits of contemporary ladies and cavaliers set in the frame of actual customs and fashions, or by having the *graciosos* make sly thrusts on women's foibles, couched in the most "modern" slang. Another difference which it presents to preceding literature, is the *defeat* which the *comedia* almost invariably metes out to the feminist heroine. For, since the age was non-feministic, most of the plays dramatizing this theme end in the submission of woman, — sometimes because of the supreme chivalry of the gallant into whose yoke she is slipped, sometimes by the exaltation of the milder virtues of women, such as meekness, gentleness, humility and obedience, that predestine her for a patient wifehood. Whereas the problem of feminism is strongly posed in the *comedia*, and the questions of the subjection of woman to man, the double standard of morality, woman's right to learning and to hold office, are violently affirmed by the champion of women, — the solution is generally anti-feministic, and relegates women to their domestic duties, to "their place in the home," to their obligation of love, self-sacrifice and marriage. It postulates that they should be content with love, the home, law and order, and that they should not make themselves ridiculous by trying to rival men in learning or achievements. This attitude is clearly expressed, for example, by the aged father in *La dama boba*, who declares:

"Está la discreción de una casada  
En amar y servir a su marido,  
En vivir recogida y recatada,  
Honesta en el hablar y en el vestido;  
En ser de la familia respetada,  
En retirar la vista y el oído,  
En enseñar los hijos cuidadosa,  
Preciada más de limpia que de hermosa.  
¿Para qué quiero yo que bachillera  
La que es propia mujer concetos diga?...  
Resuélborne en dos cosas que quisiera,  
Pues la virtud es bien que el medio siga..."<sup>44</sup>

<sup>44</sup> This attitude belongs to still another aspect of feminist literature, — that most ably expressed by Erasmus, Luis Vives, and Fray Luis de León in his *La perfecta casada*, — in which the duties of women and their position in society is discussed at length. Another expression of this opinion in *La dama boba* has a polemical ring: "¿Qué libro esperaba yo / de tus manos? / En qué pleyo / había jamás de hacerme / información en derecho? / Inocente te quería, / porque una mujer cordero / es tussón de su marido, / que puede traerla al pecho. / Todas habéis lo que basta; / para casada, a lo menos, / no ay mujer necia en el mundo, / porque el no hablar no es deffeto. / Hable la dama en la reja, / escriva, diga concetos / en el coche, en el estrado, / de amor, de engaños, de celos; / pero la casada sepa / de su familia el gobierno, / porque el más discreto hablar / no es sancto como el silencio." Ed. of R. Schevill, pp. 225 and 151.

The *comedia* thus offers no real exaltation of Woman against Man, urging her to struggle for her rights and to win an equal footing with him, — and this presentation distinguishes its heroines quite markedly from the uncompromising attitude of early feminists, such as Braçayda of *Grisel y Mirabella*, Gradissa of *Grimalte y Gradissa*, or Rodríguez del Padrón's exhortation to women in the *Triunfo de las donas*. The feminist conflict in the *comedia* is usually waged within the women themselves, and they are the ones to offer justification for their change of attitude, — womanly reasons that emerge, as the dramatist seems to imply, from their very nature, and are evoked by the constitution of things and the demands of the social order. In this again, the feminism of the *comedia* differs from preceding manifestations, for there the principal conflict was a debate between man and woman, a bloody issue left unsolved, an antagonism left unhealed, between unreconciled adversaries. To the *Siglo de Oro* dramatist, however, there was no real antagonism between the sexes, for Love, the universal master, united them in a happy harmony. For this reason, most of the heroes are depicted as gentle and constant adorers, patient and persistent, who stand the test of disdain and anguish until they have convinced the mistress of their destiny of their eternal devotion, — while the few woman-haters who are introduced, similarly succumb to love most graciously.

This happy solution may have increased in the audience the strong fascination which the feminist theme in the theatre of the *Siglo de Oro* exercised over it. Nevertheless, it was no doubt the more traditional manifestation, — the use of the man-hating beauty theme, and its mirth-provoking repetition of traditional misogyny, — that especially aroused an interest of familiarity in an audience responsive to a literary current on which it had been nurtured. The *comedia* of the *Siglo de Oro* (and the novel and poetry of the epoch would also furnish numerous examples) was one of the last of the literary *genres* to seize so extensively upon the traditional feminist theme. The current reached, through this medium, a peak of popularity which it was never again to scale until modern feminism imbued it with a new meaning, and cast upon it the glow of scientific sanction, reflected from a changing society.

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## MISCELLANEOUS

### LETTRES INEDITES DE MARGUERITE D'AUTRICHE

**V**OICI des lettres qui, à notre connaissance, n'ont jamais été publiées: deux sont adressées à Louis XII, la troisième à François Ier. Il n'est pas besoin d'en signaler l'intérêt et je ne redirai pas comment la fille de Maximilien, gouvernante des Pays-Bas de 1507 à 1530, s'est occupée des terres qui lui étaient confiées, ni quel rôle elle a joué dans les affaires internationales. Tante de François Ier et de Charles Quint, elle intervint à diverses reprises pour établir des relations pacifiques entre ces deux souverains. En 1519, Marguerite contribua à assurer la couronne impériale au petit-fils de Maximilien. François Ier, rival malheureux, ne cessa de lutter contre Charles Quint. Battu à Pavie, le roi de France fut emmené en Espagne et enfermé dans une des grosses tours de l'enceinte de Madrid.

La troisième lettre que nous publions fut écrite par Marguerite pendant la captivité du roi de France. Le traité de Madrid (1526) ne mit, d'ailleurs, pas fin aux querelles des deux princes. François Ier refusa de tenir toutes les promesses qu'il avait faites. Charles Quint, que la mauvaise foi de son ancien prisonnier mettait hors de lui, l'accusait de manquer à sa parole. Et c'est Marguerite d'Autriche qui négocia avec Louise de Savoie le traité des Dames, signé à Cambrai en 1529.

Mais la ville de Cambrai fut aussi célèbre pour la ligue qui y avait été organisée en 1508. A cette occasion, Marguerite avait déployé toutes les ressources de son activité et de son intelligence. C'est de ce traité qu'il est question dans la deuxième lettre qu'on va lire.

Quant à la première, elle se rapporte à la première année du gouvernement de Marguerite aux Pays-Bas. C'est le moment où, jeune princesse de vingt-sept ans, elle eut à lutter contre l'un de ses vassaux, Charles d'Egmont, duc de Gueldres, qui était encouragé et soutenu par Louis XII. Dans la correspondance entre "Maxi" et sa fille, les démêlés de Charles de Gueldres et de son suzerain occupent une place importante.

Nous avons trouvé ces trois lettres à la Bibliothèque Nationale, ainsi que celle<sup>1</sup> que Marguerite écrivit à Monseigneur le grand maître de France, le 3 octobre, 1529 (ms. fr. 2997, f. 26r.). Elles complètent les recueils qui ont été rassemblés depuis une centaine d'années.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elle sera publiée à part, ainsi que d'autres du fonds français de la B. N.

<sup>2</sup> Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilien Ier et de Marguerite d'Autriche de 1507 à 1519, publiée par A. Le Glay (Paris, 1839); Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, publiée par L. Ph. C. van den Bergh (Utrecht, 1849); L'Itinéraire de Marguerite d'Autriche, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, publié par M. Bruchet et E. Lancien (Lille, 1934) où sont réunies une centaine de lettres de Marguerite.

## LETTRÉ DE MARGUERITE A LOUIS XII

"Monsr je me recommande très humblement à vostre bonne grace. Monsr à ceste heure me sont venues nouvelles que voz officiers à Lyon ont arresté les ambassadeurs de Monsr mon neveu<sup>3</sup> estans illec et suis avertyé que ledit arrest s'est fait soubz couleur de la détention d'un religieux, nagaires par vous envoyé devers le Roy, Monsr mon père es Allemaignes.<sup>4</sup> Lequel, comme j'entens, a dit et proféré plusieurs injurieuses et deshonnêtes parolles à la charge et contre l'estat, honneur et réputation dicellui Sr pour animer et esmouvoir tous les princes et subiectz de l'empire et autres ses parens amis et serviteurs contre lui.

"Et pour ce, Monsr, que les dits ambassadeurs sont allez pardela soubz confidence de voz lettres de pas contenant entre autres choses qu'ils n'avoient mestier d'aucune seurte en vostre royaume, qu'ilz n'ont porté que toute bonne et honneste charge procédant de mondit Sr et neveu et son conseil et de nul autre. Laquelle comme je croy ilz n'ont aucunement excédée. Je ne me say assez esmerveillé dudit arrest et empeschement fait à leurs dites personnes et ne puis croire qu'il soit procédé de vostre sceu et ordonnanse.

"Pour lesquelles causes, Monsr, et que avez toujours gardé et entretenu aux ambassadeurs vos lettres et scellez sans souffrir ou permettre leur faire injure ou touchier à eulx, ne leurs biens, considérant aussi que ledits ambassadeurs de pardeça n'ont eu aucune charge de mondit Sr et père, parquoy l'on ne se puist ou doye par raison prendre ou adresser à eulx pour la cause que dessus, j'escrits vers vous et vous prie le plus affectueusement que je puis, que en aiant bon regard à tout vostre plaisir soit faire lever ledit arrest et empeschement mis aux personnes desdits ambassadeurs, à leurs biens s'aucun en y a, les faire mectre à plaine et entière délivrance. Et s'il ne vous vient à plaisir de faire besongnier avec eulx sur les matières à eulx chargées par mondit Sr. et neveu et les Srs de son Conseil, les renvoyer et faire pourveoir de seurté telle qu'ilz puissent passer et retourner francement et seurement par vostre royaume. Enquoy faisant Monsr userez d'équité et raison comme avez toujours accoustumé et si me ferez très grant et singulier plaisir. Ce scet le benoit filz de Dieu auquel je prie, Monsr, vous donner par sa grace, bonne vie et longhe avec l'entier accomplissement de voz désirs. Escript à Anvers, le 2e jour de juillet XV<sup>e</sup> et sept.

Vostre très humble cousine,  
Marguerite."<sup>5</sup>

LETTRÉ DE MARGUERITE D'AUTRICHE A LOUIS XII,  
ROI DE FRANCE

"Monsr, je me recommande très humblement à votre bonne grâce. Monsr, j'ay par le Sr de Chillon vostre serviteur et ambassadeur receu les lettres qu'il vous a pleu m'escrirre et ouy ce qu'il m'a dit de vostre part, dont Monsr et du

<sup>3</sup> Charles d'Autriche, fils de Philippe le Beau. Pendant sa minorité Marguerite d'Autriche exerçait la régence aux Pays-Bas.

<sup>4</sup> Maximilien d'Autriche, qui n'était pas encore proclamé Empereur, portait le titre de roy des Romains.

<sup>5</sup> Paris, Bibl. Nat., Fonds Dupuy, 281, f. 15.

bon vouloir qu'il vous plait avoir à Monsr le prince mon nepveur et à moy, ne vous seroye assez humblement remercier. Vous suppliant Monsr y vouloir continuer et à vostre bonne ayde et assistance, j'espère que l'on trouvera moien désormais se garder des oppressions et violences de Messire Charles de Gueldres<sup>6</sup> qui journellement se parforce surprendre villes et places de Monsr et nepveur.

"Et pour ce Monsr que suis adverteye qu'il dit et affirme à ses rebelles subiectz que lui avez expressément ordonné de ainsi le faire et que en ce le aidieries et assistieries de gens et argent, je me suis devisé avec vostre dit ambassadeur sur cecy et m'a semblé pour les causes que dessus et aultres que luy ay dictes que s'il n'avoit quelque charge expresse de par vous aux villes que detient ledit de Gueldres, conforme à celle qu'il m'a déclaré lui avec donné devers lui, que l'allée de vostre dit ambassadeur devers ledit de Gueldres seroit pour le présent plus dommaigeable que prouffitable, actendu l'obstinacion dudit Messire Charles. Laquelle avez assez peu congoistre par les lettres qu'il vous a escriptes, dont il vous pleu ordonner à l'ambassadeur de Burgo<sup>7</sup> m'envoyer la coppie. Quelque bon vouloir que ayez en ce démontré cidevant par effect, en lui ordonnant expressément de rendre les villes et prisonniers par lui surprins, à quoy il n'a voulu obtempérer. Toutteffois, Monsr, si vostre plesir est escrire quelques bonnes lettres ausdites villes contenant que si ledit Messire Charles ne fait restitution des villes et marchans prisonniers par lui surprins contre le traicté de Cambray<sup>8</sup> que le délaisserez et habandonneres, chargeant vostre dit ambassadeur de porter telles parolles dont je vous supplie. Il me semble, Monsr, que son allée audit Gheldres par ce moyen pourra servir aux fins qu'il vous a pleu l'envoyer. Ainsi que pense à plain l'entendrez par vostre dit ambassadeur, lequel j'ay prié sur actendre responce de vous devers moy, avant que aller devers ledit Messire Charles de Gueldres, que pourra estre briefve s'il vous plait, actendu que les postes sont assises entre cy et vostre court.

"Monsr j'ay entendu par lettres dudit de Burgo que aucunz se sont parforcez me broullier devers vous pour vous avoir deu escrire plusieurs choses contre moy par euxl controuée, et esquelles Monsr jamais ne pensay. Car je réputerois grande lâcheté en moy de porter maulvaises parolles en Angleterre ny ailleurs d'ung si grant et vertueulx prince comme vous estes. Mesmement, Monsr, congoissant la bonne grande amour et fraternité que est entre l'empereur Monsr mon père et vous et le bon vouloir et affection que avez à mondit Sr et nepveux et à moy, comme par effect le démonstrez. Et vous prie, monsr oster cecy de vostre entendement, car quiconques le vous ait dit ou escript a grandement failly à verité. Car en fait ny en pensée ne vouldroie de vous ny d'aucun prince chrestien dire ou profférer que tout bien et honneur. Aussi Monsr, je ne saiche que deppuis le traicté de Cambray, aye achoison de faire autrement, si ne vouloie blesser honneur des dames que m'est assez pour

<sup>6</sup> Charles d' Egmont, duc de Gueldres, était en guerre avec la maison d'Autriche-Bourgogne pour la possession du duché. Dans cette lutte il était appuyé par le roi de France.

<sup>7</sup> André de Burgo, ambassadeur de l'Empereur Maximilien et de Marguerite d'Autriche à la cour de France.

<sup>8</sup> Le traité ou Ligue de Cambrai de 1508 établissait, entre autres, une alliance entre Louis XII et l'Empereur Maximilien et l'archiduc Charles. Marguerite d'Autriche avait personnellement négocié ce traité.

recommandé. Et sur ce, Monseigneur, je prie au benoit filz de Dieu vous donner bonne vye et longue. Escript à Malines, ce XIV<sup>e</sup> de juillet 1511.

Vostre très humble cousinne  
Marguerite."<sup>9</sup>

LETTRES DE MADAME MARGUERITE DE FLANDRES.  
AU ROY (FRANÇOIS I<sup>r</sup>).

"Monsr j'ay par l'escuyer Bresdole receu deux lettres de vostre main qu'il vous a pleu m'escrire. Et vouldrois bien que Dieu me feist ceste grâce d'avoir le povoir de vostre délivrance comme vous plaist le m'escrise. Car l'une des choses de ce monde que plus j'ay désiré et désiré, c'est de veoir une bonne et seure paix d'entre l'empereur, vous Monsr voz bons amys et aliez. Congnoissant que ce seroit le grant bien de toute chrestienté et le repoz de vos deux maiestez. Et s'il est possible que ainsi peult advenir, je ne doute, Monsr, que ne perveniez à vostre désir de liberté. Pour laquelle en ensuivant ce qu'il vous plaist m'en mander ay escript à Madame la Régente pour avoir ung sauf conduit pour le personnage que doy envoyer vers l'empereur. Et povez estre asseuré que à moy ne tiendra vous donner à congoistre la voulenté que j'ay de vous y faire service. Mais Monsr, comme il vous plaist dire que j'ay tout povoir en cest affaire, il me semble semblablement que vous y povez trop myeux ayder que moy, pour ce que je suis bien seure que avez affaire à ung prince si vertueux et bon, quant chose qui sera raisonnable ne serez reffusé. Parquoy en bonne espérance vous y faire quelque bon service comme celle qui veult tousiours demourer vostre plus humble.

Marguerite."<sup>10</sup>

Et au dessus: "Au Roy".

MARCEL FRANÇON ET GH. DE BOOM  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY ET BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF CHARLES DE SAINTE-MARTHE

WITHIN recent years the admirable studies of M. Abel Lefranc and his associates in the *Société des Etudes Rabelaisiennes* have done much to explain the enigma which readers since La Bruyère have found in the works of François Rabelais. The persistence and thoroughness of their research and the unquestioned merits of their contributions mark their critical edition of the works of Rabelais as a model among literary studies on the French Renaissance.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Paris, Bibl. Nat., Manuscrits, Fonds Dupuy, 281, f. 17.

<sup>10</sup> Paris, Bibl. Nat., Manuscrits, Fonds Dupuy, 874, f. 42. Cf. A. Champollion-Figeac, *Captivité du Roi François I*, Paris, 1847, p. 179.

<sup>1</sup> *Oeuvres de François Rabelais*, Edition critique publiée par Abel Lefranc, Jacques Boulenger, Henri Clouzot, Paul Dorveaux, Jean Plattard et Lazare Sainéan (Paris, Champion). Only *Gargantua* (1912), *Pantagruel* (1922) and the *Tiers Livre* (1931) have so far been published. The groundwork for the *Quart Livre* and the *Quint Livre* has already been laid, however, in the studies published in the *Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes* (10 vols., 1903-1912) and the *Revue du Seizième Siècle*.

An unpublished letter of Charles de Sainte-Marthe,<sup>2</sup> which I discovered recently in Munich, is especially interesting to the student of Rabelais and, at the same time, has an important bearing upon the author's relations with the poets of the Brigade. This letter, had it been known to M. Lefranc, might well have received his attention in the pages which he devoted to the rôle of the Sainte-Marthe family in the Picrocholine wars.<sup>3</sup> Those familiar with his work will recall that M. Lefranc has definitely identified Picrochole as the irascible and selfish Gaucher or Scévoie de Sainte-Marthe, "écuyer, seigneur de Villedan, de la Rivière, de la Baste en Cursai, de Lerné, du Chapeau et d'Esnandes-en-Aunis, devenu conseiller et médecin ordinaire du roi, médecin de l'abbesse de Fontevrault,<sup>4</sup> médecin du connétable Charles de Bourbon."<sup>5</sup> The elder Sainte-Marthe, a member of a family long distinguished in the history of French letters,<sup>6</sup> was on friendly terms with Antoine Rabelais, the father of François, from 1507 until 1527. Then, about 1528, he conceived the plan of constructing for himself "des pêcheries vastes et commodes". He drove into the bed of the Loire a double row of piles which, with a mill that was already standing on one side of the river, occupied almost the whole breadth of the stream. The passage of boats was thereby rendered hazardous and almost impossible. Most prominent among the leaders of those whose rights were encroached upon were Jehan Gallet and Antoine Hullot, the former a relative of the elder Rabelais, the latter one of his closest friends. The litigation against Sainte-Marthe continued with varying intensity from 1528 until about the end of 1536 or the beginning of 1537, when the seigneur de Lerné was finally obliged to yield to his adversaries and open up the navigation of the Loire.

In view of our knowledge of the character of Scévoie de Sainte-Marthe and of the constant squabbles between him and his neighbors, we are easily convinced by M. Lefranc that Rabelais was drawing upon local history for his story of the Picrocholine wars and that Picrochole, third king of Lerné, was in reality Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe, "troisième de son nom en France, gouverneur et administrateur perpétuel du château de Lerné".<sup>7</sup> And Sainte-Marthe, thus held up to the ridicule of his contemporaries, no doubt looked forward to the day when he could take vengeance on the author of *Gargantua*. This opportunity came in 1549 when Gabriel de Puy-Herbault, Abbé de

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the life and works of this poet see the study of Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees, *Charles de Sainte-Marthe* (Columbia University Press, 1910, xiv + 664 pp.; French translation, by M. Bonnet, Paris, 1914).

<sup>3</sup> See especially the *Introduction* to *Gargantua* in the *Oeuvres de François Rabelais*, (I, lx-lxxii); and *Revue des Etudes Rabelaisiennes* (IV, 1906, 335-345).

<sup>4</sup> Renée de Bourbon held the position of "Abbesse de Fontevrault" until her death in 1534. She was succeeded by her niece, Louise de Bourbon, who retained the elder Sainte-Marthe in the office to which he had been appointed by her predecessor.

<sup>5</sup> Lefranc, *Oeuvres de François Rabelais*, (I, lxii). We shall make no effort to give a complete résumé of M. Lefranc's findings on Sainte-Marthe and Rabelais, but shall extract from his studies only those parts essential to our purpose.

<sup>6</sup> Concerning the contributions of the Sainte-Marthe family to French letters, see especially P. de Longuemare, *Une Famille d'Auteurs aux seizeième, dix-septième et dix-huitième Siècles. Les Sainte-Marthe* (Paris, 1902).

<sup>7</sup> Lefranc, *Oeuvres de François Rabelais*, I, lxiii.

Fontevrault, living under the same roof with the Sainte-Marthes, attacked Rabelais by name in the most bitter indictment of his *Theotimus*.<sup>8</sup>

We may be sure that the members of the Sainte-Marthe family were grateful to Puy-Herbault for his courageous effort to avenge them. The Abbé de Fontevrault, one of the most violent enemies of the ideas of the Renaissance, had assumed the responsibility of doing what no one of them dared attempt. We are not surprised, therefore, to find undeniable evidence that the Sainte-Marthes openly applauded the monk who had avenged their honor, but we are astonished almost to the point of incredulity when we discover that the only surviving words of approval came from the pen of Charles de Sainte-Marthe, the one member of the family who could distinctly be classified as a kindred spirit of Rabelais. Indeed, M. Lefranc has admirably expressed his astonishment. He writes:

"Eh bien! sait-on de qui est venu le témoignage d'approbation le plus chaleureux qui ait été donné à ce pamphlet rétrograde, au lendemain de son apparition? Ce n'est ni d'un couvent, ni d'un cénacle de théologiens, mais bien de l'esprit, peut-être le plus ouvert, le plus poli de la cour de Marguerite d'Angoulême, poète et humaniste, platonicien fervent, aux trois quarts protestant, incarcéré pour cause de religion, l'auteur d'une admirable *Oraison funèbre* de la reine de Navarre, en tout l'opposé parfait de Puy-Herbault: j'ai nommé Charles de Sainte-Marthe, second fils de Gaucher et de Marie Marquet, né à Fontevrault, en 1512. Comment ce tendre et harmonieux génie a-t-il pu magnifier de la sorte l'œuvre qui contrastait le plus violemment, parmi celles qui parurent alors, avec son propre tour d'esprit? Tout simplement parce que ce livre vengeait sa famille du *Gargantua* et du ridicule immortel jeté sur Picrochole, dont son père avait fourni le type."<sup>9</sup>

M. Lefranc's surprise at the rôle of Charles de Sainte-Marthe in this affair is indeed justifiable, but had he read the letter which we are about to cite, he might have expressed even greater amazement. Only six months after penning his letter of approval to Puy-Herbault, the poet wrote to Jean de Morel in Paris, as follows:

"S. P. De statu rerum nostrarum quòd hactenus non audieris, in caussa fuit vana spes, quae me hactenus lactavit: nunc sese mihi prorsus subduxit. Mortua Regina,<sup>10</sup> hera mea morte quòque mihi sublata est,<sup>11</sup> ac simul spes

<sup>8</sup> *Theotimus sive de tollendis et expungendis malis libris, ita praecepit, quos vix incolumi fide ac pietate plerique legere queant, libri tres* (Paris, Jean Roigny, 1549, in-8°). Puy-Herbault's violent attack on Rabelais has been translated into French by M. Heulhard in his *Rabelais, ses Voyages en Italie* (p. 265). M. Lefranc has reproduced it also (R. E. R., IV, 1906, 339-341). The student of Rabelais will recall his answer to Puy-Herbault in his dissertation on "Physiæ" and "Antiphysiæ." "Depuis elle (Antiphysie) engendra les Matagotz, Cagots et Papelars, les Maniacles Pistolets, les Demoniacles Calvins, imposteurs de Genève, les enragés Putherbes, Briffaux, Caphars, Chattemites, Cannibales et autres monstres difformes et contrefaits en despit de la nature" (*Quart. Livre*, xxxii).

<sup>9</sup> *Oeuvres de François Rabelais* (I, lxx-lxxi).

<sup>10</sup> Marguerite d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I, died December 21, 1549. Charles de Sainte-Marthe composed a beautiful tribute to his royal patroness, which was published in April, 1550, under the title *Oraison funèbre de l'incomparable Marguerite, Roynne de Navarre, Duchesse d'Alençon... Plus Epitaphes de ladicta Dame: par ouluns Poetes François* (Paris, Regnault Chauldiere, 1550, in-4°, 148 pp.). The original Latin version of the *Oraison funèbre* appeared at the same time.

omnes meae conciderunt. Non habeo amplius ad quem confugiam, non habeo quem implorem nisi solum Deum. Pater meus persequitur, Fratres infesti mihi sunt omnes, uxoris parentes<sup>12</sup> adeò sunt molesti, ut tantas indignitates sustinere amplius non possim. Hic, non dicam maneo, sed exulo: non dicam vivo, sed langueo: imò verò cothidie morior, inter Getis et Scythis feriores ac truculentiores. Nulla fides, nulla religio, nulla charitas, nullum aequitatis studium, nullus literarum amor: inhiant omnes quaestui, feruet avaritia, pros- cindunt sese mutuis convituis. Me miserum qui haec video mala, quae fugere non possum. Peto itaque à te, amicorum optime, ut me optimo ac constantissimo litterarum Mœcenati, Hospitali commendes, cuius favore, potero in familiam D. D. Margaritae evocari. Quod si fieri non possit, da igitur operam, ut istic quaqua lege et conditione victitare possim: alioqui perii. Saluta D. uxorem tuam, selectissimam fœminam. Vos Jesus sospitet, et meorum casuum misereatur. Alenconii, xx<sup>a</sup> Decembris, M. VC L.

"Tuus Carolus Smarthanus."<sup>13</sup>

Since Charles de Sainte-Marthe had but recently belied his own character by espousing the interests of his family against Rabelais, we should naturally expect to find him on good terms with his father and brothers at this time. They had never, it seems, treated him as a real son or brother. During the poet's imprisonment in Grenoble in 1540, they had made no effort to relieve his distress, in spite of their wealth and influence. He had even written several biting epigrams to them on the subject of their neglect.<sup>14</sup> Persecuted again in Grenoble in 1543, "ruined, needy, destitute, and despoiled of all his possessions, damaged in reputation, an exile from his own countryside",<sup>15</sup> he complained again that his relatives were completely heartless in their deafness to his appeals. In view of his past relations with his father and brothers, Miss Ruutz-Rees was quite justified in concluding, from the data at hand, that Charles de Sainte-Marthe and his relatives had effected a reconciliation during the course of the year 1550.<sup>16</sup>

The contents of this volume and of the Latin version are analyzed by Miss Ruutz-Rees (*op. cit.*, pp. 615-618).

<sup>11</sup> According to Miss Ruutz-Rees, Charles de Sainte-Marthe became attached to the household of the Duchess of Beaumont in 1544 and remained in her service until her death in 1550. The Duchess of Beaumont was the sister of Charles, Duke of Alençon, the first husband of Marguerite de Navarre.

<sup>12</sup> Miss Ruutz-Rees states (*op. cit.*, p. 194): "Of the five women with whom Sainte-Marthe was intimately connected in the course of his life, his wife is the only one of whom we know absolutely nothing but her name . ." This indication adds little to our knowledge but it reveals, at least, that his wife's relatives were no more congenial than his own.

<sup>13</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codex Latinis Monacensis 10383, fols. 130 and 171. Original autograph (fol. 130) and copy (fol. 171).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Ruutz-Rees, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-88.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>16</sup> As Miss Ruutz-Rees points out, both Louis and René de Sainte-Marthe, brothers of Charles, addressed poems to him in the *Hecatodistichon*. Both contributed verses which were published in his *Oraison funèbre* on the death of Marguerite. "This collaboration, no doubt, indicates that the poet was now on good terms with his family", she concludes, adding that the Puy-Herbault incident also contributes to such a conclusion (*op. cit.*, pp. 199-200).

We are quite willing to admit the validity of her inference, but the present letter seems to contradict her. One is tempted to believe that the Sainte-Marthes were making a conscious effort to conceal from their friends their hostility toward Charles.

This letter shows, however, that the elder Sainte-Marthe's attitude toward his son has not changed. Only six months after the date of his letter to Puy-Herbault he is forced to admit to a friend that "Pater me meus persequitur, Fratres infesti mihi sunt omnes". No further commentary upon the prototype of Picrochole is necessary, but M. Lefranc could indeed be gratified to find that Rabelais and Charles de Sainte-Marthe were fundamentally in accord as to the character of the latter's father, Scévole de Sainte-Marthe. If Charles was trying to effect a reconciliation with his family by his letter to Puy-Herbault, he certainly must have lost shortly afterward all hope of returning into their good graces. We can only conclude, therefore, that his sense of family pride was strong enough to outweigh the influence of family hostility, and that he was more interested in preserving the lustre of a distinguished name than he was in avenging the only too just ridicule which Rabelais had heaped upon his father.

\* \* \*

Nor is the interest of this letter confined to the fact that it recalls the quarrels between the families of Rabelais and Sainte-Marthe. Its tone is strikingly similar to that of the *Regrets* of Joachim Du Bellay, written in Rome some seven or eight years later. Both suffer from the lack of congenial companions, from the depravity of those whom they are obliged to frequent; both are in abject despair and unable to make any move which would relieve their sufferings.

And, curiously enough, Sainte-Marthe's letter is addressed to none other than Du Bellay's "Pylade", Jean de Morel, in whose home the poet of the *Regrets* found the only consolations of the closing years of his life.<sup>17</sup> Aside from the fact that both Morel and Antoinette de Loynes contributed verses which were published in Sainte-Marthe's *Oraison funèbre de l'incomparable Marguerite, Roine de Navarre*,<sup>18</sup> and that they collaborated with him and others in the publication of the *Tombeau de Marguerite de Valois, Roine de Navarre*,<sup>19</sup> which was compiled by Nicolas Denisot, we know practically nothing of Sainte-Marthe's relations with the Morels. It is true that he took occasion in the *Oraison* to praise Antoine de Loynes,<sup>20</sup> the father of Morel's wife, and it is possible that, through his relations with Marguerite de Navarre, he made the acquaintance of the Morels and had become a frequenter of their home, which M. de Nolhac has aptly called "le premier salon littéraire de Paris".<sup>21</sup> It seems extremely probable that it was through his friendship with Morel that he came to know and to admire Ronsard<sup>22</sup> and the poets of

<sup>17</sup> See especially *Les Lettres de Joachim Du Bellay*, published by M. Pierre de Nolhac (Paris, Charavay, 1883), and in the *Revue d'histoire Littéraire de la France* (I, 1894, 49-51; VI, 1899, 351-361). The rôle of Jean de Morel in the history of the Pléiade is discussed especially in Henri Chamard's *Joachim Du Bellay* (Lille, 1900); Pierre de Nolhac's *Ronsard et l'Humanisme* (Paris, 1921); Paul Laumonier's *Ronsard, Poète lyrique* (Paris, 1909). My history of the Morel family and of their relations with the poets of the 16th century will soon be ready for publication.

<sup>18</sup> Paris, Regnault Chauldière et Claude son fils, 1550, in-4°, pp. 132-134.

<sup>19</sup> Paris, 1551.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Ruutz-Rees, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Revue Universelle*, V, 1921, 337-352.

<sup>22</sup> Concerning Sainte-Marthe's admiration of Ronsard, see Ruutz-Rees, *op. cit.*, p. 199. Miss Ruutz-Rees surmises (p. 197) that the acquaintance of Ronsard and Charles de Sainte-

his group, who were already at this time in a position to challenge the literary prestige of the survivors of the school of Clément Marot.

No less interesting is the fact that his letter shows the importance which Morel and Michel de L'Hospital had come jointly to assume as patrons of letters. In this instance, as in their dealings with the poets of the *Pléiade*, it seems to be L'Hospital who, by virtue of his position at court, is enabled to encourage those who seem worthy of attention. In his relations with men of letters, however, Morel seems to be ever present as an intermediary. His influence with L'Hospital must have been indeed great; and it is safe to assert that no two men of that time endeared themselves more to the poets and humanists of Paris than Morel and his neighbor, the Chancellor of Madame Marguerite and future Chancellor of France.<sup>23</sup>

In so far as we can discover from existing documents, there is no evidence that Morel and Michel de L'Hospital exerted any influence on the rest of Charles de Sainte-Marthe's career. The poet held the post of *Lieutenant Criminel* of Alençon until 1553;<sup>24</sup> he was reappointed *Procureur Général* of the Duchy of Beaumont in January, 1551 (n.s.) by Antoine de Bourbon and held this position until his death in 1555.<sup>25</sup> It is quite possible that the influence of L'Hospital may have been a contributing factor in his reappointment to the latter position. If that be true, it may serve as another example of the Chancellor's willingness to use his influence to a good end; if the appointment was made independently of him, only a few weeks after Sainte-Marthe's request for aid, L'Hospital may well be excused for doing nothing, since his friend's needs had already been provided for through other channels.

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#### BAUDELAIRE AND THOMAS HOOD

IN the *Salon de 1859*, Baudelaire, criticizing the "école des pointus", remarks that "l'Amour, l'inévitable Amour, l'immortel Cupidon des confiseurs, joue dans cette école un rôle dominateur et universel." He then goes on: "Ne sommes-nous cependant bien las de voir la couleur et le marbre prodigués en faveur de ce vieux polisson, ailé comme un insecte, ou comme un canard, que Thomas Hood nous montre accroupi, et, comme un impotent, écrasant de sa

Marthe was probably made through Nicolas Denisot, their mutual friend. She bases this conjecture largely upon the fact that Sainte-Marthe was a contributor to the *Tombeau de Marguerite de Valois*, published under Denisot's leadership in 1551. It seems more probable, however, that Sainte-Marthe was indebted to Jean de Morel for the opportunity of knowing Ronsard. He addresses Morel as "amicorum optime" at a time when Morel and his neighbor, Michel de L'Hospital, had already become known as the most influential backers of Ronsard and Du Bellay. The Morel home was at this time the rendezvous of the poets of the Brigade; and it is most likely that Sainte-Marthe met the "Prince of Poets" at the Morel fireside during his sojourn in Paris in 1550, at the very moment when the quarrel between Ronsard and Saint-Gelais was at its height.

<sup>23</sup> Their success in putting an end to the quarrel between Ronsard and Du Bellay and Mellin de Saint-Gelais, to the advantage of the poets of the Brigade, ranks as one of the most notable achievements of Morel and L'Hospital (cf. especially Nolhac, *Ronsard et l'Humanisme*, pp. 170-187).

<sup>24</sup> Ruutz-Rees, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

<sup>25</sup> Loc. cit.

molle obésité le nuage qui lui sert de coussin? De sa main gauche il tient en manière de sabre son arc appuyé contre sa cuisse; de la droite il exécute avec sa flèche le commandement: Portez armes! sa chevelure est frisée dru comme une perruque de cocher; ses joues rebondissantes oppriment ses narines et ses yeux; sa chair, ou plutôt sa viande, capitonnée, tubuleuse et soufflée, comme les graisses suspendues aux crochets des bouchers, est sans doute distendue par les soupirs de l'idylle universelle; à son dos montagneux sont accrochées deux ailes de papillon." Then, in quotation marks:

"Est-ce bien là l'incube qui oppresse le sein des belles? . . . Ce personnage est-il le partenaire disproportionné pour lequel soupire Pastorella, dans la plus étroite des couchettes virginales? La platonique Amanda (qui est tout âme) fait-elle donc, quand elle disserre sur l'Amour, allusion à cet être trop palpable, qui est tout corps? Et Bélimda croit-elle, en vérité, que ce Sagittaire ultrasubstancial puisse être embusqué dans son dangereux œil bleu?

"La légende raconte qu'une fille de Provence s'amouracha de la statue d'Apollon et en mourut. Mais demoiselle passionnée délira-t-elle jamais et se dessécha-t-elle devant le piédestal de cette monstrueuse figure? ou plutôt ne serait-ce pas un emblème indécent qui servirait à expliquer la timidité et la résistance proverbiale des filles à l'approche de l'Amour?

"Je crois facilement qu'il lui faut *tout un cœur* pour lui tout seul; car il doit le bourrer jusqu'à la réplétion. Je crois à sa *confiance*; car il a l'air sédentaire et peu propre à la marche. Qu'il soit prompt à *fondre*, cela tient à sa graisse, et s'il brûle avec *flamme*, il en est de même de tous les corps gras. Il a des *langueurs* comme tous les corps d'un pareil tonnage, et il est naturel qu'un si gros soufflet *soupire*.

"Je ne nie pas qu'il s'*agenouille* aux pieds des dames, puisque c'est la posture des éléphants; qu'il *jure* que cet hommage sera *éternel*; certes il serait malaisé de concevoir qu'il en fût autrement. Qu'il *meure*, je n'en fais aucun doute, avec une pareille corpulence et un cou si court! S'il est *aveugle*, c'est l'enflure de sa joue de cochon qui lui bouche la vue. Mais qu'il loge dans l'œil bleu de Bélimda, ah! je me sens hérétique, je ne le croirai jamais; car elle n'a jamais eu une étable dans l'œil!"

Baudelaire adds: "Cela est doux à lire, n'est-ce pas? et cela nous venge un peu de ce gros poupart troué de fossettes qui représente l'idée populaire de l'Amour."

Baudelaire gives no source for his quotation beyond the mention of Thomas Hood, and until now it has not been traced, I believe. The drawing described by Baudelaire and the accompanying text are to be found in Hood's *Whims and Oddities*, published in 1826.<sup>2</sup> The drawing of the obese and pig-like Cupid so accurately described by Baudelaire has the legend "Tell me, my heart, can this be love?" and the text on the opposite page is entitled *On the Popular Cupid*:

"The figure opposite was copied, by permission, from a lady's Valentine. To the common apprehension, it represents only a miracle of stall-feeding — a babe-Lambert — a caravan-prodigy of grossness, — but, in the romantic mythology, it is the image of the Divinity of Love. —

<sup>1</sup> Baudelaire, *Curiosités esthétiques*, Notice, Notes et Eclaircissements de M. Jacques Crépet, Paris, Conard, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> I quote from the second edition, *Whims and Oddities, in Prose and Verse, with Forty Original Designs*, by Thomas Hood, London, 1827.

"In sober verity, — does such an incubus oppress the female bosom? Can such a monster of obesity be coeval with the gossamer natures of Sylph and Fairy in the juvenile faith? Is this he — the buoyant Camdeo, — that, in the mind's eye of the poetess, drifts adown the Ganges in a lotus —

'Pillow'd in a lotus flow'r  
Gather'd in a summer hour,  
Floats he o'er the mountain wave,  
Which would be a tall ship's grave?'

Is this personage the disproportionate partner for whom Pastorella sigheth, — in the smallest of cots? — Does the platonic Amanda (who is all soul), refer, in her discourses on Love, to this palpable being, who is all body? Or does Belinda, indeed, believe that such a substantial Sagittarius lies ambush'd in her perilous blue eye?

"It is the legend, that a girl of Provence was smitten once, and died, by the marble Apollo: but did impassioned damsels ever dote, and wither, beside the pedestal of this preposterous effigy? or, rather is not the unseemly emblem accountable for the coyness and proverbial reluctance of maidens to the approaches of Love?

"I can believe in his dwelling alone in the heart — seeing that he must occupy it to repletion; — in his constancy, because he looks sedentary and not apt to roam. That he is given to melt — from his great pinguetude. That he burneth with a flame, for so all fat burneth — and hath languishings — like other bodies of his tonnage. That he sighs — from his size.

"I dispute not his kneeling at ladies' feet — since it is the posture of elephants, — nor his promise that the homage shall remain eternal. I doubt not of his dying, — being of a corpulent habit, and a short neck. — Of his blindness — with that inflated pig's cheek. But for his lodging in Belinda's eye, my whole faith is heretic — *for she bath never a sty in it.*"

A comparison of Baudelaire's version with the original is not without interest. It shows Baudelaire faced with the kind of passage which is the despair of translators, a passage rich in obscure allusions and built up on puns. Baudelaire omits the first two paragraphs, except for one phrase, and begins after the verses. There are few grammatical errors; the phrase beginning "or, rather is not the unseemly emblem" is somewhat expanded and a little twisted in the process, but the only serious blunder is in the final phrase, where "she hath never a" becomes "elle n'a jamais eu une". The translation of individual words, so often involving puns, is less satisfactory, with a decided tendency to use the French word that looks most like the English. Baudelaire's translation of "cot" by "couchette" is perhaps almost inevitable if one were depending on a dictionary, unaided by a tradition of poetic cots and "Love in a cottage." The slip of "confiance" for "constancy" is surprising; indeed one is tempted to think that it is due to a misreading (made easy by Baudelaire's long s's) of "constance", by either the printer or Baudelaire himself. Few of the numerous puns, the great difficulty of the passage, seem to have escaped the translator. For the final pun, however, one has grave doubts. Baudelaire himself added a foot-note to "étable" as follows: "Une étable contient *plusieurs cochons*, et, de plus, il y a calembour; on peut deviner quel est le sens du mot *sty* au figuré." The ambiguity of the

note, and the expression "au figuré" lead one to suspect that the two separate and distinct meanings of "sty" had escaped him.

Considering its difficulties, the translation is a creditable one, but hardly as skilful and sure as one might expect from the very experienced translator that Baudelaire had become by 1859. This fact, the slight incongruity of the introduction of so long a passage of translation into a *Salon*, and the name of Hood have suggested to me the possibility that we may have here a fragment of Baudelaire's article on caricature. Mr. Crépet, in his notes to the *Curiosités esthétiques*,<sup>3</sup> has traced the history of this article, announced as *De la Caricature*, "pour paraître prochainement", on the cover of the *Salon de 1845*, frequently mentioned in Baudelaire's correspondence, and finally published, in part at least, as the three articles "De l'Essence du Rire" (1855), "Quelques Caricaturistes français" (1857) and "Quelques Caricaturistes étrangers" (1857). In a note to "Quelques Caricaturistes français" Baudelaire says: "Ce fragment est tiré d'un livre resté inachevé et commencé il y a plusieurs années."<sup>4</sup> Mr. Crépet, in support of his statement that Baudelaire had completed a fuller version than the published text, refers to a page published in the *Oeuvres posthumes*, headed "De la Caricature et généralement du comique dans les arts", which begins: "Voici la troisième fois que je recopie et recommence d'un bout à l'autre cet article, enlevant, ajoutant, remaniant et tâchant de me conformer aux instructions de M. V. de Mars." Baudelaire then mentions the changes he has made, and enumerates a large number of caricaturists on whom he has added new passages, many of whom, as Mr. Crépet points out, are not so much as mentioned in the published articles. Among these is Thomas Hood, who is mentioned neither in the caricature articles nor anywhere else in Baudelaire's works, except the passage in the *Salon de 1859* quoted above.<sup>5</sup>

Baudelaire, it will be remembered, wrote the *Salon de 1859* at Honfleur. On May 14, 1859, he wrote from there to Nadar: "j'écris maintenant un *Salon*, sans l'avoir vu. Mais j'ai un livret. Sauf la fatigue de deviner les tableaux, c'est une excellente méthode que je te recommande. On craint de trop louer et de trop blâmer; on en arrive ainsi à l'impartialité." Two days later he admits: "Quant au *Salon*, hélas! je t'ai un peu menti, mais si peu! J'ai fait une visite, une seule, consacrée à chercher les nouveautés, mais j'en ai trouvé bien peu, et pour tous les vieux noms, ou les noms simplement connus, je me confie à ma vieille mémoire, excitée par le livret."<sup>6</sup>

Does it not seem likely that Baudelaire, writing his *Salon* in this way, and having published as much of the caricature article as was actually in shape, should have padded the *Salon* with two pages belonging to the caricature article, but not sufficiently developed to be included in "Quelques Caricaturistes étrangers"? He seems to have done much the same thing previously, on a larger

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 450-452.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 403.

<sup>5</sup> The English title of one of the *Petits Poèmes en Prose*, "Any Where out of the World", and its ending, "N'importe où! n'importe où! pourvu que ce soit hors de ce monde!" are, of course, borrowed from Hood's "Bridge of Sighs":

"Anywhere, anywhere  
Out of the world!"

It would seem probable that Baudelaire knew "The Bridge of Sighs" through Poe, who quotes it in full in "The Poetic Principle".

<sup>6</sup> Baudelaire, *Lettres, 1841-1866*, Paris, Mercure de France, 1907, pp. 206, 209-210.

scale, with "De la Peinture moderne", announced as "sous presse" in 1845, and apparently swallowed up in the *Salon de 1846*. The possibility of these pages belonging to an earlier period would explain the relative weakness of the translation; and the slip of "confiance" for "constance" is far more explicable if Baudelaire, usually so meticulous a proof-reader, was dealing with a MS dating back several years, without the English text at hand. It seems possible, then, that a fragment of the more extensive version of *De la Caricature* is to be found in these two pages of the *Salon de 1859*. Moreover, the comparison of Baudelaire's version with the original has its interest as showing him as a not unskilful translator of English very different from that of Poe or De Quincey.

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#### MERIMEE'S COLOMBA

MERIMEE and his writings have been exciting considerable attention of late.<sup>1</sup> M. Michaut contributes a very clever article on "La Mystification de Colomba".<sup>2</sup> "C'est que l'incorrigible auteur du *Théâtre de Clara Gazul*, de la *Guzla*, de la *Vénus d'Ille*, de *Lokis* et de tant d'autres récits... nous y a, une fois de plus, mystifiés." M. Michaut's reasoning seems at times a bit specious; on reflection one fears that he has — *horrible dictu* — borrowed a trick from Mérimée's sack. For some distinctions must be made. The romancer found greater delight in narratives of horror, like *La Vénus d'Ille*, — a variant, of an often told story,<sup>3</sup> — or *Lokis*,<sup>4</sup> than in fooling the candid reader. Not mystification but mysterious horror characterizes these vampire tales. *L'Abbé Aubain* may be "une histoire de mystification", but the joke is at the expense of Mme P\*\*\*, "un peu gâtée par des lectures frivoles et par la compagnie des freluches de la capitale"; and we are invited to smile with the author. Can any careful reader be left in doubt as to the "dénouement véritable" of *Arsène Guillot*? The Greek epigraph and the pencilled line on Arsène's tomb make the meaning clear: Mme de Pirenne has succeeded Arsène as mistress of M. de Salligny. But M. Michaut will have it that Mérimée had become so steeped in mystification in all his acts that he ended by mystifying himself. "Il n'est pas douteux que, dans ce roman, (*Colomba*) Mérimée ait voulu écrire le drame de la vendetta." But he has not succeeded; and there is, properly speaking, no vendetta at all. Orso merely shot his enemies in legitimate self-defence. His love for Miss Lydia may well charm "les amateurs d'idylle.

<sup>1</sup> See *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, avril-juin, 1934, pp. 250-265, and oct.-déc., 1934, pp. 630-634.

<sup>2</sup> "La Mystification de Colomba," *Annales de l'Université de Paris*, jan.-fév., 1933, pp. 33-58.

<sup>3</sup> The earliest version I have found is in Phlegon's *On Marvels*, chap. I. For other variants, see Michelet, *La Sorcière*, end of chap. I and the note. Filon, *Mérimée et ses Amis* (p. 358) quotes a medieval Latin version. Léo Jouber, quoted by E. Biré, *Portraits littéraires* (p. 44) says: "Mérimée avait pris cette étrange légende dans l'*Anatomie de la Mélancolie* de Burton." — For Mérimée's own version of his sources, see his letter to Eloï Johanneau, reprinted in Hawkins, *Newly Discovered French Letters* (Harvard University Press, 1933, p. 148).

<sup>4</sup> Of *Lokis*, M. Michaut remarks: "Notre curiosité irritée... craint de comprendre." He might have consulted *Lettres à une Inconnue*, Nos. CCCX et suiv. — Léo Jouber, (I.c.) says of this story: "La partie psychologique paraît inspirée d'un roman américain intitulé *Elsie Venner*."

Il n'en est pas moins vrai que le chef-d'œuvre de Mérimée y perd en grandiose, y perd en poésie. Et nous comprenons maintenant l'obscur inquiétude que nous laissait cette lecture."

Let us examine this grave charge. It is evident even from M. Michaut's résumé that *Colomba* is the heroine and that there is no hero. Once more the epigraph is significant:

"Pe far to vendetta,  
Sta sigur', vasta anche ella."

Orso is merely a puppet in the hands of his sister. Now what does *Colomba* ask? The violent death of the young Barricini at the hands of Orso, or at least under his guidance. Thus, the family honor will be satisfied. She is quite willing to provoke a general battle by public insult hurled at the Barricini women: then her enemies will fire first and she is sure that her own faction, with Orso in command, is in force to exterminate them. She provides her brother with an escort on his fatal journey lest he be caught at a disadvantage. Her objections to the duel proposed by Orso are that Orlanduccio has no conception of such settlements and that he does not deserve the death of a brave man. Nevertheless, Orso, true to his continental training, does his best to provoke a duel: first, he challenges the Barricini verbally and even strikes Orlanduccio. Next, he sends a written challenge, which is promptly refused. At the beginning of the story, Orso has explained to Miss Lydia that the vendetta is the duel of the poor. "Cela est si vrai, qu'on ne s'assassine qu'après un défi en règle. 'Garde-toi, je me garde': telles sont les paroles sacramentelles qu'échangent deux ennemis avant de se tendre des embuscades l'un à l'autre." This formality has been scrupulously observed by Orso who sets no traps; and the actions of the Barricini—barricading their house and assault on Orso—leave no doubt as to their intentions. Mérimée's cards are on the table; and M. Michaut seems to agree that, up to this point, all is according to vendetta etiquette. But, when ambushed, Orso merely acts in self-defence, which destroys everything. Now, in the few seconds during which the opponents are taking aim, Orso cries: "Misérable lâche!"—a new provocation. Two shots follow instantly, and then he fires so quickly that Colonel Nevil was not sure whether the louder reports preceded or followed the lesser. Self-defence undoubtedly, but purely instinctive. Orso's intention to punish those whom he has come to believe the assassins of his father has been made abundantly clear. The setting is that of the most approved vendetta on the part of the Barricini, and Orso acts in accordance with his character. *Colomba* is, and has every reason to be, satisfied: the Barricini youths have died an ignoble death at the hands of her brother, and their guilt is manifest to all. True to her nature she finishes the job in her own way when she meets by chance the elder Barricini.

What shall we say of Orso's flight into the jungle, denounced by M. Michaut as a palpable trick to keep up the mystification? The prefect, to be sure, is on the whole favorably disposed to the Della Rebbia, but he is away and the lieutenant of the *voltigeurs* is a relative of the Barricini. Hence, however unscathed in conscience, Orso would have been a fool to give himself up during the first moments. In addition he is wounded and scarcely

conscious of his acts. Doubtless his acceptance of the invitation of his bandit-friends is useful to the idyll, but there is no lack of motivation here.

Why does Mérimée introduce the idyll at all? It does give him the opportunity to poke fun at the lovers, which he enjoys. But the main reason must be sought in a taste he shared with the Romanticists — love of antithesis. This is very common in his work. What a gentle dove is Colomba! How well Captain Ledoux deserves his name in *Tamangol*. The idyll serves then to set off the gory manners of Corsica, as the passionate episode related in *Carmen* or the horror of *Lokis* is heightened by the frame-story.

Experts in vendetta must decide whether or not Orso fulfilled all the requirements. What is certain is that Mérimée has kept his engagements. He has united a logical and coherent study of character, a love-story and a tale of adventure, instead of composing the melodrama that M. Michaut seems to ask. *Mystificateur* he often was, but there is little sleight-of-hand in *Colomba*.

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## REVIEWS

### LA PHILOSOPHIE DES SYNONYMES

H. J. Pos, *Contributions à une Théorie générale des Synonymes. Recherches philosophiques*, 1932-3, 190-201 pp.

M. Pos (Amsterdam) nous a fait une communication sur les synonymes, en 1931, au Congrès des Linguistes, à Genève. Je me rappelle que, dans la discussion, M. Boillot, de Bristol, lui dit: "Il n'y a pas de synonymes, car le sens de ce qu'on appelle synonymes n'est jamais identique."

Depuis, M. Pos a continué son travail et il se propose ici d'étudier, premièrement, les synonymes comme tels et, deuxièmement, les causes générales de la synonymie. Il adopte la définition du *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* que "dans aucune langue on ne trouve des synonymes parfaits." Il constate qu'historiquement, "le point de vue de la distinction des sens a été développé après celui de l'identité." Et il finit en émettant ce jugement consciencieux et bien fondé: "La difficulté que soulève la définition des synonymes ne rend pourtant pas douteuse leur existence" (p. 192).

Je pense que ce qui importe, c'est comme toujours, *la méthode*. Nous savons, p. e., par le travail de M. von Wartburg sur la terminologie des maladies des yeux, que les différentes idées qui appartiennent à ce chapitre se distinguent assez mal, parmi les patoisans, que, bien des fois, un mot désigne plusieurs maladies et que la même maladie est désignée bien souvent par plusieurs mots différents. Même une seule personne varie dans son usage, aussi bien pour les termes, que pour les idées. Si nous nous rappelons notre enfance, nous trouverons que le même manque de stabilité a été le nôtre. Même aujourd'hui, le cas n'est pas exceptionnel que nous changions d'idée (ce n'est pas qu'une façon de parler) et que nous changions de termes.

Ainsi la difficulté de la définition des synonymes n'est que la conséquence de ce préjugé: "Nos termes et nos idées sont fixes." Si nous savons que c'est là un préjugé, la méthode de notre analyse changera aussitôt. Alors nous ne demanderons plus: "Y a-t-il des synonymes dans les langues?" Mais bien: "Y a-t-il des *individus*, qui se servent de synonymes?" Et ici le doute disparaît. Il y a longtemps qu'on l'a observé.

Hans Sachs, le poète de la Renaissance allemande, a été un des premiers à persifler les formules doubles:

"Wie *balb* und *balb*, so *scblecht* und *rech*  
Verwirret Sinn und Ohr!—  
Wenn *balb* und *balb* nichts *Ganzes* giebt,  
Was stellen sie dann vor?  
Verfänglich auch das *zweite* Wort

Des Alltags *recht und schlecht*  
*Streich lieber gleich das Silblein *und*,*  
*Dann heissen sie *recht schlecht*.*

Donc, pour Hans Sachs, *schlecht und recht*, "bel et bien" blessent le bon sens et l'ouïe. Aujourd'hui encore nous nous servons de cette formule, sans nous rendre compte de la différence de *schlecht* et de *recht*. Voilà pourquoi le poète propose de rayer *und* et de dire simplement *recht schlecht*, ce qui veut dire: "bien mauvais." Je pense que c'est l'incunable de la critique de la synonymie.

L'autre exemple est différent: *halb und halb* "half and half", devraient former un tout. Mais, en allemand, ils ne signifient ensemble que "à demi" et *ich habe halb und halb verstanden* veut dire: "J'ai compris en partie." Ainsi il y a équivoque pour *halb* qui signifie (au moins une fois) autre chose que "moitié."

On voit ici que la synonymie et l'équivoque appartiennent au même ordre d'idées, qu'ils se conditionnent mutuellement, qu'il ne faut donc pas les séparer, dans nos études.

Locke a été du même avis dans son *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*: Son fameux chapitre, "Abuse of Words", contient toute notre critique moderne en germe. Locke y dénonce la lâcheté de notre terminologie: "Another great abuse of words is inconstancy." Il dénonce l'équivoque et la polysémie: "Words used sometimes for one collection of simple ideas, and sometimes for another." Il dénonce les cas où une idée est désignée par deux termes (15, "body and matter: the *idea* these two terms stood for"). Et il dénonce la source de tous les malentendus: On parle "as if the speaker and hearer had necessarily the same precise ideas." Ce qui est le préjugé dont nous avons parlé, consistant à prendre nos idées et nos termes pour fixes.

Ainsi on voit que le problème de l'ambiguïté des termes et des idées ne peut être séparé de l'individu, de sa classe, de son instruction et de son intelligence: Locke sort des classes et sait les juger, ce qui est l'exception. Hans Sachs juge l'école objectivement parce qu'il n'a pas fait d'études classiques. Un pédant par contre expliquerait: *Schlecht* et *recht* ne sont pas synonymes: *schlecht*, cela veut dire *schlicht*, "simple."—Comme si on réfléchissait à l'étymologie, en se servant de phrases toutes faites. Un idéaliste expliquerait peut-être: "Je sens *schlecht* comme s'il s'agissait de la justice populaire, et *recht* comme s'il s'agissait du droit officiel." Explications toujours trop fines.

M. Pos a donc très bien fait de parler de la dégradation de la synonymie, dans ces formules doubles: *acts and deeds*, *faits et gestes*, *Art und Weise* (p. 200). Mais n'est-ce pas toute la synonymie qu'il faudrait dénoncer? M. Pos demande si "la synonymie ne pourrait se comprendre comme un phénomène sémantique nécessaire dans l'ensemble du langage humain." Je pense qu'il est nécessaire, puisqu'il existe. Et je pense qu'il est amusant et qu'il peut être poétique, *mais qu'on n'en a que faire, si on veut penser juste*. Du reste, Montaigne l'a dit, Pierre Bayle l'a démontré, et Leibnitz a voulu abolir nos langues, dans les discussions philosophiques et inventer à cet effet une langue artificielle.

Ainsi le principe d'Univocité forme un idéal très éloigné pour le langage. Mais pour la langue de la science l'Univocité forme une condition à laquelle on devrait plus se soustraire.<sup>1</sup>

Je pense que M. Pos a très bien fait de diriger l'attention sur ce problème et que sa communication peut former une base solide pour la discussion. Mais pour la langue de la science l'Univocité forme une condition à laquelle individuelles, en distinguant bien les classes et les intelligences. Et qu'elle fera bien de ne s'occuper de l'opinion de l'école et des dictionnaires qu'à la fin. Car la philologie a toujours essayé d'éliminer les synonymes en cherchant des subtilités de différences qui, bien des fois, n'existent que dans l'imagination. Méthode qui n'élimine pas du tout l'ambiguïté mais qui l'augmente plutôt. Car en subtilisant le sens des synonymes, sans contrôler les choses, on tombera forcément dans l'équivoque.

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#### ON THE ORIGIN OF FRENCH FAMILY-NAMES

Paul Chapuy, *L'Origine des Noms patronymiques français (donnant l'Etymologie de 10,000 Noms de Famille)*. Suivi d'une Etude sur les Noms de Familles basques, Paris, Dorbon-Ainé, [1934], 352 pp.

This research on the origin of French family-names lists about 10,000 of them, and yields us far more abundant material than any other previous work in this field. Of course, no one will claim that even this intensified work is at all exhaustive. To take at random as test-cases the names of some well-known literary scholars, we find no mention of those of Lanson, Mornet, Bray, Jourda, Villey, Wilmotte, Chamard, Faral, Cestre, etc. Though this test is arbitrary, it tends to show that even 10,000 elucidations of family-names are but a beginning of a far greater task, which would tax the linguistic versatility of even a multi-lingual investigator. Of course, we should be duly grateful for the work already accomplished in this volume, although we might wish that the author had brought, at the same time, irrefutable philological proof of his derivations.

The author has mainly confined himself to the address-book of Paris. He considers only existing family-names, and ranges from the most common ones in France (Martin, Petit, Laurent, Bernard, Fournier, Moreau, Durand, Leroy, Dubois, Michel, Lefèvre, Lambert, Girard, etc.), through such singular ones as Alamargot, Augrandjean, Beauvillain, Beauvisage, Bellemain, Boilevin, Chaussegros, Cocu, Coupechoux, Dieulefils, Jacasse, Lecul, Mauchaussé, Mouillefarine, Painchaud, Péché, Quatresous, Ouf, Sécheresse, Soupir, Trois-poux, Toulemonde, Trompesauce, Testevuide, Venin, etc., — names far more frequent in medieval times, but now diminishing in number,—to such renowned ones as Abaillard (*celui qui s'occupe des abeilles*); Proust (*Prévôt*);

<sup>1</sup> Locke a été le premier à dire cela: "That men should use their words in the same sense... is not to be expected... But yet necessary to philosophy... those who pretend seriously to search after or maintain truth, should think themselves obliged to study how they might deliver themselves without... equivocation, to which men's words are naturally liable, if care be not taken" (Book III, Chap. XI, 2-3).

Ganivet (*canif*); Pradon (*petit pré*); Dumas (*de la ferme*); Mistral (*bailli*); Récamier (*brodeur*); Botrel (*crapaud*); Cocteau (*cuisinier*); etc.

One of the notable contributions of this volume is the study of Basque names (pp. 269-314). It would have been desirable if there had been added the origin of Celtic family-names, many of which may have survived through the place-names adopted as patronymics. Another set of names that could profitably have been included is the transformation in spelling of Flemish names from French Flanders since the conquest by Louis XIV. For instance, the name, Hasard or Hazard, should hardly be indicated as of medieval origin and meaning "joueur", when, in French Flanders, it is but the rewriting of a Flemish name, Haesaerts. Frequently Flemish names acquire French accents, as in the case of de Brouckere, which becomes de Brouckère. Again, the name of the famous painter, Watteau, is only a Frenchified form of the Flemish name, Watteeuw, etc. Another example of this neglect to consider the Flemish infiltration into French proper names is the derivation assigned to Deman. The author indicates its origin as the name of a certain St. Demand, Bishop of London. Yet it seems hardly likely that a French family should adopt the name of a bishop of London, when it is most likely derived from the common Flemish name, De Man (*The Man, L'Homme*), written in one word.

The author might also have taken into account the English names of Irish or Scottish immigrants. For example, the name, Harding (p. 258), is much more likely to be the name of an English immigrant, than one adopted by a French family after the name of St. Harding, "second abbé de Citeaux!" Again, to explain Macary and Macari, it is not necessary to refer to St. Macary, a bishop of the 6th century, when the English name, McCary, is so common. To explain Emerit or Emery, it is, also, not necessary to refer to a "St. Emery, prince de Hongrie (1034)", when this is the name of a locality, the Château d'Emery (*Aymeris*), between Valenciennes and Mons. Hartmann (p. 258) is recent German, as the spelling (double *n*) proves, and is not derived from St. Harman, "évêque de Brixen". Plé (p. 269) does not always come from Pelagius, a third-century martyr (St. Plé), but is, apparently, good Parisian *poissard* for *pelé* (cf. La Fontaine, "Ce pelé, ce galeux d'où venait tout leur mal"), and belongs to such names, denoting physical defects, as Camus, Courtaud, Grélé, Leborgne, Lécorché, Lemenu, Lhérisson, Noiret, Louchet, Rousseau, etc.

These are but a few examples of the objections that might be voiced to many of these derivations of patronymics. They could easily be multiplied. (Tille [p. 292], for instance, does not necessarily originate from the Gallo-Roman *Tilius*, since it is the name of several small rivers in the plain between Dijon and the Saône. Is Néron [p. 233] of Germanic origin? Etc.). This work attempts the solution of an intricate problem, but it has not entirely succeeded, neither from the point of view of the number of names discussed, nor from that of the reliability of the etymologies it proposes. Yet, even this present listing, with its handy reference-apparatus, will both render service and stimulate further work on problems that French patronymics present.

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## UNE GRANDE PRINCESSE DE LA PRÉ-RENAISSANCE

M. Bruchet et E. Lancien, *L'Itinéraire de Marguerite d'Autriche, Gouvernante des Pays-Bas*, Lille, 1934.

Comte Carton de Wiart, *Marguerite d'Autriche. Une Princesse belge de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1935.

Gh. de Boom, *Marguerite d'Autriche-Savoie et la Pré-Renaissance*, Bruxelles-Paris, 1935.

M. le Comte Carton de Wiart, auteur de *Mes Vacances au Congo, Mes Vacances au Brésil, Albert 1er Le Roi Chevalier*, et d'autres œuvres, a été tenté d'employer son activité versatile à la composition d'un livre sur Marguerite d'Autriche. Le moment était bien choisi. Le "fondateur de la maison d'Autriche et de la diplomatie", pour donner à la Régente des Pays-Bas le double titre que lui décerne Michelet, a été, depuis quelques années, l'objet de nombreuses études au milieu desquelles se distinguent celles de Bruchet. Le livre de ce savant, *Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Savoie* (Lille, 1927) fait autorité, et c'est là que tous les érudits qui s'occupent de Marguerite viennent chercher les renseignements. Mais ce bel ouvrage, paraît-il,—quoiqu'il ait paru sans indication de tomaison—ne devait être, dans la pensée de l'auteur, que la première partie d'une œuvre plus considérable. Il aurait été suivi de deux autres dans lesquels l'archiviste de Lille se serait occupé du gouvernement de Marguerite en Franche Comté et de son administration aux Pays-Bas. La mort vint empêcher un tel programme.

Quoique l'œuvre de Bruchet déconcerte parfois par sa mauvaise composition, ou plutôt par un certain manque de mesure, de proportions, quoiqu'elle donne l'impression d'avoir été rédigée un peu trop rapidement, et surtout conçue dans un esprit de "chartiste"—admirable par toute la probité, l'activité et l'intelligence qu'il demande,—quoiqu'elle ait été entreprise avec l'intention de rassembler des documents, de collectionner des fiches, plutôt que de les mettre en œuvre, elle n'en reste pas moins digne non seulement du prix qui a été donné à son auteur, mais de la reconnaissance de tous.

Très peu de temps avant de mourir, Bruchet avait conçu le projet de publier le *Journal de Marguerite*; il avait déjà même entrepris ce travail que son élève préférée, Mlle Lancien, a revisé et complété.

M. Henri Courteault a écrit une très intéressante introduction à l'*Itinéraire*. Il définit celui-ci un "squelette complet de la biographie absente, mais un squelette animé." Le tout est agrémenté de citations pittoresques, de fragments de comptes qui témoignent du plaisir que Marguerite avait à entendre de la musique. Elle écoute les chœurs de l'église Saint-Rombault, à Malines, ceux de St. Donat, à Bruges, ceux de "Saincte Goule en la ville de Bruxelles" qui chantent devant elle à son souper ou à son dîner, les joueurs de "hautbois et sacquebottes", de "leufs, de tambourin et de rebectz", "d'arpe et psalterion", "d'espinettes"; pour elle, les "Italiens, jouheurs de soupplesses", font danser des ours; elle s'intéresse aussi à des "jouheurs... venans d'Escousse."

L'*Itinéraire* nous met à même de suivre les déplacements de Marguerite et recueille des renseignements qui sont épars dans divers documents et, en particulier, dans les œuvres de Lemaire et celles de Molinet. Il y a, pourtant, des lettres et des textes dont il aurait été bon de se servir et qui se trouvent dans les "Mé-

langes Colbert" et dans la "Collection Dupuy" de la Bibliothèque Nationale. C'est dans ce dernier fonds que j'ai remarqué, en particulier, quatre lettres de Marguerite, une à l'évêque de Tournay, écrite de Malines le 13 septembre 1507, deux à Louis XII datées respectivement d'Anvers (2 juillet 1507) et de Malines (14 juillet 1511), et la quatrième adressée à François 1er prisonnier; ces trois dernières lettres vont être publiées dans la ROMANIC REVIEW. J'ajouterais une autre lettre (ms. fr. 2997, f. 26) envoyée à Monseigneur le grand maître de France le 3 octobre 1529.

L'*Itinéraire* est suivi de CXIV lettres, la plupart inédites; il faut remarquer que Le Glay avait déjà donné des extraits de la lettre LXII (cf. "Notices sur Marguerite", publiées en appendice dans le volume suivant: *Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilien 1er et de Marguerite d'Autriche*, II, Paris, 1839, p. 439. n. 2).

C'est ainsi qu'on était à pied d'œuvre. Il restait à utiliser les livres et les notes qui avaient déjà paru. Examinons l'usage qu'en a fait M. le Comte de Wiart.

Le titre lui-même de l'ouvrage est-il bien choisi? Marguerite d'Autriche, princesse belge? D'après tout ce que nous savons d'elle, de son héritéité, de son caractère, nous rappelant qu'elle était la petite fille du Téméraire, la fille de Maximilien, nous voyons en elle une bourguignonne et une princesse autrichienne du type des Habsbourg. Si elle a résidé à Malines, si l'apogée de son pouvoir correspond au moment où elle était gouvernante des Pays-Bas, il n'en est pas moins un peu arbitraire de la considérer surtout comme une figure "nationale" qui illustre la "petite patrie". Est-ce que le mot d'anachronisme ne vient pas à l'esprit?

Le livre de M. le Comte de Wiart, dédié au Comte Louis de Lichervelde, porte en épigraphe les premiers vers d'un rondeau qui se trouve dans les *Albums de Marguerite*:

"Le temps est trouble, le temps se esclaircira;  
Apres la plue l'on atent le beau temps;"

Est-ce une allusion au temps présent? Peut-on, d'ailleurs, trouver plus banale et plus niaise pensée? Mais M. le Comte de Wiart croit peut-être que ce rondeau (qu'il appelle "chanson") est digne d'annoncer son livre et d'en résumer l'esprit.

Il ne faut pas s'attendre à trouver ici le résultat d'études laborieuses, d'efforts diligents et honnêtes. C'est sur le ton d'un homme du monde, dans une langue affétée et volontiers archaïque ou naïvement vieillotte que M. le Comte de Wiart va nous présenter la vie de Marguerite. Les événements historiques et les dates sont convenablement enregistrés;<sup>1</sup> mais on ne peut pas ne pas faire des réserves sur la façon dont M. Carton de Wiart a compris l'esprit de l'époque et la personnalité de Marguerite. Ce qui nous renseigne là-dessus, c'est l'examen des écrits assignés à la Régente. M. Carton de Wiart nous parle de la douleur de la duchesse de Savoie à la mort de Philibert le Beau; il nous dit que ce deuil "devait vivre autant qu'elle", que les œuvres de Marguerite "nous ont conservé maintes plaintes révoltées" et, pour illustrer ses dires, il nous cite quelques vers des *Albums*: "Me faudra il toujours ainsi languir?" . . .

<sup>1</sup> Marguerite posa la première pierre de l'Eglise de Brou, le 28 août 1506 et non 1504.

Puis il transcrit le texte latin d'une chanson mi-française mi-latine à trois voix, publiée dans les *Albums*, qu'il fait suivre d'une phrase des *Lamentations*, formant la partie de baryton de la chanson suivante. (Gachet avait ainsi confondu les deux chansons et ne s'était pas aperçu de la méthode employée par les compositeurs de l'époque qui juxtaposaient souvent un texte latin et un texte français dans la même chanson). Le tout est, aussi bien, attribué à Marguerite, sans preuve à l'appui, ainsi que les "rondels fameux" dont il donne deux exemples: "Belles parolles en palement" et "A la louche le gentil homme", "où", prétend-il, "résonne... la note mélancolique de la jeune veuve qui se souvient".

Mais remarquons, tout particulièrement, ce que M. Carton de Wiart dit de la littérature de cette époque: "Cent ans plus tôt, la poésie était encore le lot exclusif de quelques professionnels: ménestriers au service des princes, ou colporteurs-ès-gaye science (*sic*) qui s'en allaient, la viole sous le bras, porter de château en château le gros rire des fabliaux et le frisson des chansons de gestes. Mais depuis lors, de grands événements ont secoué le monde. La féodalité et la chevalerie disparaissent à l'horizon. La bourgeoisie s'est émancipée. Elle est plus riche, plus cultivée, plus sûre du lendemain. L'imprimerie est née. La littérature a pris des formes nouvelles. Elle n'inspire plus seulement des poètes de carrière raffinés au contact des grands, mais des gens de noblesse, de simples bourgeois, voire des artisans épris de l'ardeur de rimer... " C'est, d'après M. Carton de Wiart, le moment où "l'amateurisme triomphe, faisant succéder aux professionnels des cours d'amour, des chantres de la vie intime ou de la place publique." Qu'est-ce qui caractérise les "amateurs" de cette époque, et plus particulièrement aux Pays-Bas qu'ailleurs? C'est "le souci qu'éprouvent tous ces bourgeois-poètes d'écrire pour être compris et suivis par la foule."

Les "bons" rhétoriqueurs ne reconnaissent plus les lois de la poésie "naguère encore... asservie à des thèmes immuables", et "ils riment sur toutes choses naïvement et librement." Et si les œuvres sont médiocres, n'y a-t-il pas, pourtant, dans cet effort, quelque chose de touchant "pour qui souhaite voir la poésie se répandre et atteindre les couches profondes de la population, de telle sorte que chacun puisse y trouver un aliment pour son esprit, une consolation pour son cœur...?" L'art était, en effet, en train de devenir, pour parler comme M. Carton de Wiart, "le domaine de tous"; les associations bourgeois semaient "le goût dans toutes les classes", et ne laissaient "aucune intelligence en friche".

Au paragraphe suivant, M. Carton de Wiart remarque que "Marguerite protège les Chambres de rhétorique en même temps qu'elle les surveille pour qu'elles ne deviennent pas des instruments de fronde contre le pouvoir." Voilà qui rétablit les choses.

Mais, à un point de vue strictement littéraire, M. Carton de Wiart nous renseigne sur le goût de Marguerite. "Elle-même sait se garder du style amphigourique et du galimatias où choient la plupart des rimeurs de ces cercles. Dans les poèmes ou les chansons qu'elle compose, c'est le plus souvent son cruel veuvage qui l'inspire; mais les échos de sa mélancolie n'ont rien qui soit pédant ou conventionnel. L'accent est sincère. On y reconnaît le regret qui demeure et la nostalgie qui, à certains jours, l'accable... Qu'on ne voie pas dans cette fidélité au beau duc de Savoie une attitude poétique ou mondaine..."

Marguerite aime-t-elle la musique? M. Carton de Wiart nous affirme que la musique n'apparaît pas à la Gouvernante des Pays-Bas "comme un simple ornement de la vie, mais comme une richesse d'émotion, d'animation et de santé morale qui est utile, sinon nécessaire à la vie." Et tout cela, parce que l'archiduchesse fait venir des musiciens pendant ses repas!

Du livre des "Basses danses" où les mélodies s'accompagnent de petits poèmes ou récitatifs de choix dont plusieurs sont sans doute de sa composition", il est probable que M. Carton de Wiart ne connaît pas la publication par Ernest Closson ni l'introduction que ce musicologue a écrite pour ce recueil. Il aurait vu qu'il "n'est pas douteux qu'au point de vue chronologique, les soi-disant 'basses danses de Marguerite d'Autriche' seraient plus justement dites 'de Marie de Bourgogne.'"

Mais M. Carton de Wiart n'est arrêté par rien: "Qu'il s'agisse de l'évolution de la technique de l'harmonie ou du choix des thèmes à orchestrer, Marguerite n'a pas peur des nouveautés." Il nous dit très sérieusement et, là encore, on se demande si on lit correctement le texte: . . . "C'est grâce à l'attrait exercé sur elle par les recherches des savants et des artistes, que le style de la Renaissance s'infiltre tout d'abord aux pays du septentrion. Rien n'est plus significatif à cet égard que les travaux d'architecture auxquels elle préside . . ." L'église de Brou fut construite par un flamand dans le style gothique flamboyant, après que Marguerite eut finalement rejeté les projets de Jean Perréal; mais cela n'a pas grande importance pour M. Carton de Wiart; et il ajoute qu'elle témoigne de la "sympathie aux humanistes et aux philosophes de la nouvelle école"; il suffit de se rappeler l'attitude de Marguerite envers Jean Lemaire et les Protestants pour s'étonner de la façon dont M. Carton de Wiart interprète l'histoire.

Signalons encore que le *Miroir des Dames* doit être attribué à Philippe Bouton et non à Claude, son fils.

Indiquons que, lorsque M. Carton de Wiart cite des rondeaux, il emploie le "rentrement" après la seconde strophe et le refrain après la troisième. Il y a là quelque fantaisie que seul le goût de M. Carton de Wiart doit pouvoir expliquer. Il n'est pas nécessaire d'attirer l'attention sur les mauvaises leçons, bagatelles que cela!

Le livre se termine par un paragraphe où il est parlé du cœur de Marguerite, "ce cœur, leurré par l'amour des hommes" qui "comprend, partage, réalise" le désir de paix de "ces peuples au milieu desquels il a commencé et il cessera de battre". A qui, demande M. Carton de Wiart, "Marguerite en a-t-elle réservé la meilleure part, sinon à ses bons sujets . . . qu'elle gouverna si heureusement . . . et qui l'ont trop oubliée" et que, pourtant, "elle a vraiment aimé à cœur perdu"?

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P. S. Au moment de finir ce compte rendu, je reçois le livre de Mlle Gh. de Boom: *Marguerite d'Autriche-Savoie et la Pré-Renaissance* (Bruxelles-Paris, 1935). Nous avons vu que, pour écrire un ouvrage "définitif" sur la princesse qui nous a occupé, le moment était singulièrement opportun. Aussi ne s'étonne-t-on guère de la hâte avec laquelle tous s'empressent de saisir l'occasion qui s'offre. Mais c'est justement cette hâte, ainsi qu'une certaine amertume, ac-

compagnée d'un sentiment de rancune que la concurrence aigrit, qui empêche les ouvrages d'être aussi satisfaisants qu'on pourrait l'attendre de leurs distingués auteurs.

Il se peut qu'on doive trouver, dans ce récent volume, le dernier mot sur la question qui nous a intéressé.

Mlle de Boom annonce ainsi son livre: "Cet essai historique, fruit d'un travail de plusieurs années, a tenté de compléter mais non d'égaler ce monument inachevé. (Il s'agit de l'œuvre de Max Bruchet: *Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Savoie*). C'est une étude d'ensemble de la vie toute (sic) entière de Marguerite d'Autriche, un portrait véridique de cette femme illustre...."

Cet essai de 256 pages n'en contient que 98 sur la partie proprement historique du sujet. Le reste du livre—très intéressant, cela va sans dire—rassemble des renseignements sur la cour de Malines, les collections artistiques, la "librairie" de Marguerite, sa vie intime et sa famille, la vie intellectuelle et littéraire à cette époque, les tombeaux de Brou.

Pour plusieurs de ces chapitres, Mlle de Boom s'est contentée de réimprimer quelques articles déjà vieux de quatre ou cinq ans. Il faut, pourtant, remarquer des traces de rajeunissement et des corrections heureuses. Le *Miroir des Dames* n'est plus attribué à Claude Bouton. Je prends plaisir à signaler aussi des modifications importantes dans des phrases comme celle-ci: "Il n'en reste pas moins que ces manuscrits renferment des poèmes originaux dont les plus remarquables sont l'œuvre de Marguerite d'Autriche." On s'aperçoit que l'article sur la bibliothèque de Marguerite a été augmenté et remanié. On distingue, à plusieurs endroits, la mention de Riz (Riccio); mais Mlle de Boom se trompe en assignant à cet Italien *deux ouvrages écrits pour Marguerite*. Le ms. de Vienne et celui de Paris contiennent la même œuvre, avec quelques variantes assez insignifiantes.

Mlle de Boom a très habilement utilisé les lettres que j'ai trouvées à la B. N. et qui seront publiées à la ROMANIC REVIEW sous son nom et le mien.

Pour finir, me permettrai-je de rappeler l'article de A. Thomas, "Chastel d'Amors" (*Annales du Midi*, I, 1889, 187). On y verra ce qu'il faut penser des "cours d'amour".<sup>2</sup>

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ON THE TERCENTENARY OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY (1635-1935):  
VALENTIN CONRART

A. Mabille de Poncheville, *Valentin Conrart, le Père de l'Académie Française*, Paris, Mercure de France, 1935, 222 pp.

On the occasion of the tercentenary of the French Academy (1635-1935), M. Mabille de Poncheville offers this pleasantly written biography of its foster-father. Although devoid of pseudo-scientific dryness or the accumulation of insignificant detail, he clings closely enough to historical fact and document. There is, perhaps, some overstress on melodramatic effect in the opening pages: the young Conrart is met on the street by his severe Calvinist father, just after he had adorned his knee-pants with crimson ribbon and his shoes with the little artificial roses *à la mode*. Without a single word, he is led back home and confronted in silence with the somber portrait of his grandfather, — executed at

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jeanroy, *La Poésie lyrique des Troubadours*, II (Paris, 1934), p. 271.

Valenciennes for his Protestantism, — who mutely seems to reprove him for these concessions to worldly vanity . . . . A well-found scene that depicts the Calvinist rigidity of the Conrarts, — if only it were convincing enough.

But, in general, the volume sketches a sympathetic portrait of the real Valentin Conrart, whom many remember only for the famous "silence prudent" with which Boileau forever stigmatized him before posterity. He was a modest and indefatigable grammarian, a purist who weighed words on sensitive scales, a simple and serviceable scholar, who accomplished his self-set tasks with a serious-minded conscientiousness, upon which both his Flemish laboriousness and his exacting Calvinist training had an undoubted influence. His somewhat dutiful plodding lacked a spark of genius, — but, at least, it protected him against such frivolous fire-works of glittering, but evanescent, wit as that of his friend, the most genially empty-headed Abbé de Boisrobert.

His precarious health, too, — he was called "le goutteux sans pareil" — furthered his studious habits, his long application to safe scholarly tasks that kept him occupied without exhausting his low-burning energy. He really lived in his somber library, amidst fine books bound in brown calfskin and gold-stamped with his coat of arms, fingering old coins adorned with the haughty profiles of Roman Emperors, — Commodus, Caligula, Maximinius Cæsar, Constantinus Magnus Pater Patriæ, Marcus Aurelius Pontifex Maximus . . . . And from the austere half-dark, there stared the engraved portraits of his immortal contemporaries — Cardinal de Richelieu, Christina of Sweden . . . and those of the illustrious Seventh Muses of his time: the unsurpassable New Sappho, Mlle de Scudéry, or Mlle de Schuurmans, ornament of the Netherlands and universal artistic and linguistic genius, or Mlle Descartes, niece of the philosopher, or Signora Olympia Pamphilii, sister-in-law of the Pope and a wonder of all sciences on her own account . . . . And, as perpetual secretary of the Academy, he wrote letters, — an unending series of courteous letters, — to many *savants* whose names end in *us*: Heinsius of Holland, Cottunius of Greece, Gudius of Germany, Conringius of Denmark, Allatius of Italy, or to less solemn investigators or men of letters: Abbé Nicaise, Father Bouhours, Ménage, Pierre Allix, the Minister in London, etc., — a stately pageant of togas of both Catholics and Protestants.

Then, the portraits of the very immortal poets among his friends — and how fortunate he had been to know them! — Jean Chapelain whose *Pucelle d'Orléans*, serious and substantial, would endow France with an epic worthy of its historical glory; or Guez de Balzac, the renewer of classic epistolaries; Racan, Gombauld, Sarrasin, and, somewhat aloof, Pierre Corneille, who had had an ephemeral success by imitating Guillén de Castro's *Cid*, but who had to be censored and whipped back into the regular ranks because of his too independent manner. Remember, he wrote: "Je dois à moi seul toute ma renommée"? Yet, his opponent, blustering de Scudéry, was hardly more sympathetic, with his eternal Gascon swashbuckling! His own celebrated *Pseaumes* were published three years after his death. With Chapelain, he was the secretary of the learned Europe of his time. He collected rare and curious pieces, poems, satires, letters, and formed that voluminous Collection Conrart, into which all informed students of the 17th century dip, — and rarely without bringing up some new document. This modest, dutiful life of a tolerant and somewhat pedantically

précieux Protestant scholar has been sympathetically evoked in this fluent and perspicacious volume that attempts to give a *lebensbild* rather than a biography.

By its nature, such a work escapes detailed documentary criticism; its main concern is the image of the man it presents. Yet it is rather astonishing that no use has been made of Saint-Evremond's witty *Comédie des Académistes* (1638), which attacks exactly the purism of which Conrart was the great promoter; that the Cid quarrel, which stirred the Academicians so profoundly, is merely alluded to, etc. A picturesques detail might have been added at the end: in 1675, young Bayle (cf. his *Lettres*) lived in Paris, and tried to visit Conrart, who was then slowly dying. He returned several times, but in vain, — only to learn, at last, that he was dead. This confrontation of the disappearing generation of 1610 with one of the early representatives of the 18th century, is suggestive. I may also point briefly to some inaccuracies:

P. 64: 1641, "Colletet [Guillaume] toujours un peu crotté." It is more than likely that Boileau's lines: "Tandis que Colletet, crotté jusqu'à l'échine, / va mendier son pain de cuisine en cuisine," aim at his son, François Colletet. His father, Guillaume, was far from poor.

P. 64: Among the people present at the presentation of the *Guirlande de Julie*, on May 22, 1641, are listed "les deux Habert dont l'un va périr à la prochaine campagne." But François Habert, "commissaire de l'artillerie," was killed four years earlier, in 1637, near the Château d'Emery, by the accidental explosion of some munition.

Pp. 82-83: On the occasion of Conrart's wish to see Latin treatises of his contemporaries written in French, — "en notre langue qui est maintenant connue et aimée presque dans tout l'occident" — it is said: "Un homme qu'on peut appeler disciple de Conrart, car il l'a beaucoup estimé et connu, Charles Perrault, reprendra ces idées-là, qui donneront naissance à la fameuse querelle des Anciens et des Modernes." These ideas were quite commonplace before Conrart and Perrault, and the mental attitudes that brought about the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns were well-enough formulated long before this period. Cf. Gillot, *La Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*.

P. 141: Claudine was not the servant of Colletet, but the servant of his brother.

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#### SAINT FRANÇOIS DE SALES IN THE NETHERLANDS

Joseph Daniëls, S. J., *Les Rapports entre Saint François de Sales et les Pays-Bas, 1550-1700*, Nijmegen [Holland], 1932, 4 ll. + 198 pp.

Abbé Bremond's fundamental *Histoire littéraire du Sentiment religieux en France* (1916-1932), the new complete edition of the works of Saint François de Sales (1892-19—, 26 vols. in print), and the numerous recent studies on him,<sup>1</sup> have now completely superseded the older works on this insinuating

<sup>1</sup> For instance, the new biographies or important studies by Hamon-Letourneau, *Vie de St. François de Sales*, new ed., 1909; M. Henry-Coüannier, *St. François de Sales et ses Amitiés*, 1922; F. Vincent, *Le Travail du Style chez St. François de Sales*, 1923, and *St. François de Sales, Directeur d'âmes*, 1925; P. Archambault, *St. François de Sales*, 1931; J. Périmelle, *St. François de Sales, Harpadius et le Père Philippi* (in *Vie spirituelle*), 1931; etc. F. Strowski's older work, *St. François de Sales. Introduction à l'Histoire du Sentiment religieux en France*, 1898, was re-issued in a much reworked and corrected edition in 1928, but remains out of date.

*directeur d'âmes.* But, whereas his life, friendships and doctrines are becoming yearly more clearly elucidated, sufficient attention has not been paid to the wide international diffusion of his works, nor to their long-lasting influence. Abbé Bremond pointed out, it is true, how much he was esteemed in England (*op. cit.*, I, p. XIII); and the introduction to the new edition of his works touches upon their success in Germany, Spain and Italy, — but the necessary detailed and documentary studies are still largely lacking. Yet *la dévotion* was as cosmopolitan as *la philosophie*. By 1656 the *Introduction à la Vie dévote* had been translated into 17 languages (Cf. the edition of Ch. Florisoone, 1930, I, p. XXXIII), and it had stimulated the rise of a new form of religious literature in several countries. Dr. Daniëls' study on the influence of Saint François in the Netherlands investigates one sector of this world-wide diffusion, and, if it is focussed on countries geographically small, it must be stressed that precisely these countries offer a test-case for the spiritual influence of the Saint of Savoia.

It is most significant that his treatises were so eagerly translated and imitated in the Netherlands — the country of Geert Groot, Thomas à Kempis, Sister Hadewijch, Jan van Ruusbroeck or Jansenius — where for centuries the mystic current had been running deep. The translation of the *Introduction à la Vie dévote* alone, counted at least 17 editions between 1616 and 1696. It is true that all of these, except one, appeared in Flanders or Brabant, in the Catholic Spanish Netherlands. After the fall of Antwerp (1585), the separation between the Northern and Southern Netherlands was an accomplished fact; and, from then on, the Spanish régime in Belgium tolerated little else in the Flemish vernacular than religious literature. And, whereas free Holland entered upon its Golden Century in literature with Vondel, Huyghens, Cats, and Brederoo, Belgium sank into literary mediocrity (though quite in contrast with its flourishing painting); and such an influence as that of Saint François could only be beneficial. This may help to explain that, although Flanders possessed an abundant devotional or mystic literature of its own,<sup>2</sup> it turned eagerly to works which combined esthetic value with religious edification.

Moreover, the friend of Saint François, the prolific novelist, Jean-Pierre Camus, had a certain vogue in the Netherlands. Dr. Daniëls points to three translations, but one may surmise that there must have been more. Here again we stand before an international phenomenon. The good Bishop of Belley decidedly profited by the vogue of *la dévotion*; he saw many of his stories translated into English, Dutch, German, Italian, etc., and his fame closely linked with that of the author of the *Introduction à la Vie dévote*. His *Esprit du Bienheureux François de Sales* was universally considered as the introduction to the system of self-discipline of the insinuating director of souls (Cf. Bremond, *op. cit.*, p. 274). It is noteworthy that Camus' *L'Amphithéâtre sanglant* was translated in Protestant Holland. In calling attention to Camus in the Netherlands, Dr. Daniëls makes a contribution to a subject that has not been studied with any degree of precision: the expansion of the French 17th-century novel in European literature. An American scholar is preparing a work on this subject.

The specific orientation of THE ROMANIC REVIEW does not allow me to

<sup>2</sup> Since the wide influence of Jan van Ruusbroeck, the Flemish mystic literature remained a vivifying force in spiritual Europe. Cf. P. Groult, *Les Mystiques des Pays-Bas et la Littérature espagnole du XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, 1927; E. Bruggeman, *Les Mystiques flamands et le Renouveau catholique français*, 1928; Chapter I of the present study; etc.

discuss at any length the very interesting chapter of Dr. Daniëls' dissertation on the influence of *l'humanisme dévot français* upon the Flemish-Dutch literature of the 17th century. It may suffice to say that he indicates the analogies and the differences between Saint François and the outstanding representative of devout letters in Flanders, Father Adriaan Poirters, S. J. (1605-1674), the author of *The Little Dove in the Stone-Grotto*, and of the well-known *Mask of the World Torn Off*. Father Poirters, however, imitates other French devotional authors. His *Holy Court of Emperor Theodosius*, for instance, follows the outline of Father Nicolas Caussin's *La Cour Sainte*. Also of interest are the French influences upon Justus De Harduyn's *Divine Canticles of Praise* (1620).<sup>3</sup> And De Harduyn became the leader of a group of priest-poets, who imposed their tendencies upon Flemish letters. The spirit of Saint François seems to have left its imprint upon the mind of J. Stalpart van der Wiele and even — though only faintly — upon the great Dutch classic Joost van den Vondel. Dr. Daniëls' dissertation is a valuable contribution to the field of Franco-Dutch literary relations and bears the imprint of its guiding spirit, Prof. K. R. Gallas.

It is natural that one may doubt and question a number of points of detail or of historical perspective. To give only one example: Dr. Daniëls discusses the moot question (pp. 37-38) of the influence of Saint François upon Corneille's heroic conception of character. Here, following Lanson, he agrees that the resemblances between the Cornelian hero and the "généreux" of Descartes cannot be explained simply by a borrowing from one another. He accepts — after the article of Dr. C. Serrurier — that they found their common source of inspiration in Saint François' *Traité de l'Amour de Dieu*. Yet, he adds, Corneille and Descartes were both students of the Jesuits and their stress on Will, enforcing the ideals of a high-born soul, must have been derived from that great master of spiritual energy, Ignatius of Loyola, and his *Exercices spirituels*. But, he argues further, Ignatius owes a vast debt to the *Imitation of Jesus Christ* and "à travers lui, Corneille et Descartes rejoignent donc l'idéal spirituel néerlandais." Corneille translated the *Imitation*, and it is from there that — through Ignatius of Loyola and Saint François — springs his heroic and willful conception of character.

This series of equations seems open to very serious doubt. Corneille himself did not perceive this far-stretching parentage; he translated the *Imitation*, after the production of his principal plays, when recovering from a serious illness and as a kind of expiation for what he believed to be the too worldly tendencies of his dramas. As is usual with a long series of vague identifications, definite opposites are identified. The negation of the personal Will in the *Imitation* and the supreme affirmation of the personal Will in Corneille's heroes are shown to be — *identical*. Moreover, Prof. Nitze has argued for the influence of the *Corteggiano* upon Corneille's conception of character; Faguet (*En lisant Nietzsche*) has perceived in his heroes a glimpse of the superman; Gracián's *El Héroe* has been proposed as his model; and so have Justus Lipsius and the stoic philosophers of the 16th century; Lanson sees him portraying contemporary heroes, Richelieu or de Retz. I do not mention some other identifications — "et des meilleurs" — but these "elucidations" are certainly calculated to obscure

3 Cf. Dr. O. Dambre, *De Dichter Justus de Harduyn (1582-1641)*, 1926.

any understanding we may have of Corneille's conceptions of the Hero! Gracián, Descartes, Thomas à Kempis, Saint François de Sales, Epictetus, B. Castiglione, St. Ignatius of Loyola, Richelieu, Justus Lipsius, etc. — What a row of ill-assorted ancestors for the Cornelian hero, who, moreover, resembles none of them to any convincing degree!

It is unavoidable that a dissertation of even a limited scope should contain general affirmations of a doubtful nature, but — let me mark this clearly! — these minor controversial points do not diminish the value of the work, which should be judged by its *positive contribution*, and not by its negative minor errors. And Dr. Daniëls' work has made a positive contribution of real value.

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CHRISTIAAN HUYGENS AND SCIENTIFIC PARIS  
IN THE 17TH CENTURY

Henri L. Brugmans, *Le Séjour de Christian Huygens à Paris et ses Relations avec les Milieux scientifiques français suivie de son Journal de Voyage à Paris et à Londres*, Paris, Librairie E. Droz, 1935, 200 pp.

Historians of scientific affairs in France have always agreed on the importance of the rôle played by Christiaan Huygens in the early stages of the Académie des Sciences; from Voltaire and Condorcet to Lavisse and D. Mornet, there has been general agreement that the Dutch astronomer and physicist had an important share in the discussions and planning that brought the projects of the amateurs into line with Colbert's broad and practical program for the advancement of the arts and sciences in Paris. Up to very recent times scholars have had to be content with scraps of information and much conjecture, the lack of published primary sources making definitive treatment impossible. Now, however, that the Dutch Academy of Sciences has brought the *Oeuvres complètes de Christiaan Huygens* to the eighteenth large volume, detailed study of various aspects of the movement has begun to bring out its findings in the shape of general histories of scientific activity in the 17th century as well as studies of special topics and minor points of scientific history. Dr. Brugmans' work differs from most of the preceding books to the extent that it attempts to resume the whole story of Huygens' relations with France and the Paris circles of science and letters, and that therefore it makes an excellent general guide to the thousands of letters and documents published in the collected works.

For the study of ideas and the scientific *milieu* in the period 1660-1685 such a volume as this is indispensable. Through the pages of this book we meet figures as different as Valentin Conrart, Chapelain, Pierre de Carcavy, Mlle de Scudéry, the Perraults, Colbert, the Abbé Bourdelot, Pascal, Mersenne, Sorbière, Descartes, and Leibniz; Huygens was on terms of personal acquaintance with all the notabilities of his day, and Dr. Brugmans' sober and patiently collected dissertation gives us a survey of these relationships. His treatment is chronological, studying successively Huygens' relations with Mersenne and Descartes, the several visits to Paris in 1655, 1660, 1663, which led up first to a regular exchange of news with the Paris savants and later to the Royal gratuity and the appointment as member of the Academy of Sciences; a chapter deals with his rôle in that galaxy of geniuses, and the book ends with some account of his retirement

from Paris and later life in Holland. The book deals mostly with facts, but there is some discussion of Huygens' ideas, notably in connection with his scepticism and his attitude towards Cartesianism, enough to suggest that Huygens must be considered an important forerunner of the *philosophes* of the succeeding century.

The value of the book is enhanced by the publication of the two accounts of visits to Paris in 1660-61 and 1663 preserved in the library of the University of Leiden; these documents, almost entirely unpublished, show that Huygens moved freely in the best circles in Paris, and that he took pleasure in all the varied amusements of the day, the theatre, music, the *foires*, the *conférences* of the Cartesians and the salons of the bluestockings, as well as in more strictly scientific activities. The notes to these journals are elaborate and useful, and a separate index affords easy reference to names contained in them. One would like to suggest that the "Monsieur Le Roy" mentioned in the *Journal* for February, 1661, may perhaps be the novelist, Marin Le Roy de Gomberville, whose name is found at the end of the same journal in the same associations. The book is worthily presented with illustrations and bibliography, and will be useful to all who seek light on the movements of ideas in the 17th century.

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#### BELGIAN CHRONICLE

Gustave Vanwelkenhuyzen, *J.-K. Huysmans et la Belgique*, Paris, Mercure de France, 1935, 230 pp., 15 frs.

Even the cursory reader will at once recognize in this monograph the thorough method and conscientious scholarship which marked the author's *Influence du Naturalisme français en Belgique*. Every possible source of documentation has been utilized and the whole presented with clearness and precision. The purpose is not to offer a portrait of Huysmans, but to trace his relations with Belgium and Belgian men of letters through his collaboration in periodicals, in critical estimates by him and of him, and in his correspondence. This is accomplished by generous quotation that serves at once to maintain the complete objectivity at which M. Vanwelkenhuyzen aims, and to contribute no little vivacity to the account, for Huysmans' style is always highly colored.

Born in Paris, but Dutch by family, he felt a strong bond of sympathy with the Flemish, although he had only slight knowledge of the language. His first visit to Belgium was in 1876 when he came to Brussels to supervise the printing of his novel, *Martbe*. His impressions were not flattering: neither Manneken-Pis nor the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville found favor in his eyes. The museums attracted him from the start and the influence of the old Dutch masters is strongly marked in his work. "Visiteur inlassable des musées, il garde si fidèlement le souvenir de leurs toiles [des peintres] que, très souvent, au spectacle de la vie réelle, les scènes et les paysages qu'ils ont peints lui reviennent en mémoire. Ces rapprochements sont fréquents dans son œuvre et donnent lieu à d'habiles transpositions d'art où s'affirment ses qualités de peintre littéraire."

Both during his naturalistic period and after his conversion to Catholicism, Huysmans was hotly discussed by Belgian critics. *A Rebours* especially caused vigorous polemics. Jules Destree's pronouncement will perhaps be the one accepted by posterity: "C'est le raffinement poussé à l'extrême, l'exaspération morbide du sens artiste, l'affolement du goût, l'amour de l'artificiel, de l'étrange, du troubant, la recherche aiguë de la jouissance rare non éprouvée."

M. Vanwelkenhuyzen points in this novel to signs of a change in the author's outlook. His conversion, signaled by *En Route*, was variously interpreted in France, while in Belgium it brought him into contact with a new group of friends, notably the founders of *Durendal*, who championed his cause and put at his disposal a powerful organ of publicity. The editor, Abbé Moeller, wrote to him: "De grâce, n'abandonnez pas votre style. Ne changez rien à votre manière. Ne tuez pas l'artiste qui est en vous. Le plus grand service que vous puissiez rendre à l'Eglise, c'est de dire ses gloires dans votre langue à vous, dans cette langue d'un réalisme si sain et si vrai, en ces termes pittoresques, à l'emporte-pièce, qui constituent toute votre personnalité." Comments pro and con, by both Catholics and Liberals, are noted at length, but the sincerity of the neophyte's attitude was soon generally accepted. This cordiality strengthened his sympathy for Belgium.

M. Vanwelkenhuyzen limits his rôle to a strictly impersonal presentation of the documents in which there is still fire. He has succeeded admirably in his purpose: "Cette étude . . . aidera, pensons-nous, à compléter et à préciser ce que l'on sait par ailleurs de l'homme et de l'écrivain." The volume closes with a list of the contributions of Huysmans to Belgian periodicals.

René Janssens, *Les Maîtres de la Critique d'Art*, Bruxelles, Dietrich & Cie., 1935, 142 pp.

Edmond Durany wrote more than half a century ago: "C'est à croire que tout Belge naît peintre, a le sens inné des belles tonalités et manie la pâte avec une pleine certitude." Unquestionably the master talent of Belgium is for the plastic arts. M. Janssens studies, in this attractively presented volume, the history and the rôle of art-criticism in France and in Belgium. His work will be of value to students of letters also, since the majority of the masters he considers are better known for their literary achievements than for their excursions into the realm of the brush. Indeed, the title is a bit misleading, because many of these writers, especially the French, merely made their debut in art-criticism. Yet M. Janssens, proceeding largely by judicious quotation, brings out pregnant ideas from nearly all. He often draws on articles published in periodicals and not easy to find. One could wish fuller bibliographical references and dates than are given.

The rôle of the critic of plastic art is quickly fixed: only the past and the present belong directly to his domain. He can save the world from being devoured by charlatans and avenge talent for the success of mediocrity; he may also defend the claims of innovators, and, thereby, aid in the evolution of art. During the last half-century the inroads of commercialism and the demand for almost instantaneous judgment have inevitably brought the de-

cadence of disinterested criticism. M. Janssens would react and reveal its service in more serene periods.

Art-criticism as a literary genre began in the 18th century, although there are sporadic examples in the 17th. Diderot's *Salons* had some notable predecessors, most of whom were in revolt against narrow fealty to academic rules. "Diderot écoute surtout sa sensibilité, quitte à la contrôler avec l'aide de la raison... Son goût est supérieur à celui des autres écrivains de son temps. Dans les ouvrages et la correspondance de Voltaire, de d'Alembert, de Montesquieu, de Marmontel et de La Harpe on trouve à propos d'art des erreurs de jugement qui nous paraîtraienr surprenantes si notre époque n'avait pas vu se renouveler des incompréhensions et des engouements au moins équivalents."

Among men better known for other lines of activity may be mentioned Guizot who, at the age of 23, supported the classic principles of David; a few years later, Thiers acclaimed Delacroix' *Virgile et Dante aux Enfers*, when that painter was under heavy fire; Baudelaire, always on the watch for new talent, was the first to appreciate Courbet, Manet, Whistler, Rops and others. The brutal realism of Courbet raised a storm of protest. The manifesto accompanying a catalogue of his exposition in 1855 was probably written by Champfleury. Of this M. Janssens remarks: "Ce manifeste n'avait rien de subversif. Avant lui, bien des peintres auraient pu prétendre avoir trouvé la formule de l'Art vivant. Certains affirment pour leur compte l'avoir découverte aujourd'hui, et il n'y a aucun doute que souvent encore, dans l'avenir, d'autres croiront la tenir enfin." Thus, historical criticism can at least put us on our guard.

The renaissance which accompanied Independence in Belgium, while not immediately producing masterpieces, did inspire critics who were more inclined than the French to make the study of art their main profession, or, at least, to pursue it throughout their lives. "Edouard Fétis... est entré très jeune à l'Indépendance belge, où il fit, de 1837 à 1899, la chronique des Beaux-Arts, et continua jusqu'à sa mort, survenue dix ans plus tard, la chronique musicale." At the age of 80 he delivered an address on *L'Idéal et le Naturalisme*, which can still be meditated with profit. Arthur Stevens, brother of the two painters, devoted himself entirely to the study of the plastic arts. Among Belgian men of letters we may cite Lemonnier, who devoted to painters and their work 13 volumes of which some are classics; Verhaeren, lyric even in criticism, who has left a master study on Rembrandt; Demolder, who, more than Gautier, wrought a transposition of the arts; and Eekhoud, who, beside journalistic criticism, signed volumes on the Belgian animal-painters and on Teniers. The scholar, Ernest Verlant, constantly put his erudition at the service of the masters of the distant or immediate past.

M. Janssens has not written to trumpet national achievements, but he has quietly demonstrated that Belgium has held her own in devotion to both the theory and the practice of the plastic arts.

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## FRENCH BOOK NOTES

A. E. Shumway, *A Study of the "Minerve Française" (February 1818-1820)*, University of Pennsylvania, 1934, 126 pp.

It is meritorious enough to undertake an analysis of the periodicals that played such a prominent rôle in the Romantic upheaval in the 1830's, and since Des Granges' *Le Romantisme et la Critique: La Presse littéraire sous la Restauration, 1815-1830*, a number of studies of these reviews, — in which the early battles for or against Romantic ideas echoed so loudly,—have been undertaken. We may mention, for instance, J. Marsan's study of *La Muse Française* (1907-9); H. M. King's *Les Doctrines littéraires de la Quotidienne, 1814-1830*; or P. Trahard's *Le Romantisme défini par le "Globe"* (1924); as well as R. Bray's meritorious *Chronologie du Romantisme*, which is not listed in the bibliography of this dissertation. The *Minerve Française* was a short-lived weekly of liberal tendencies, which appeared for only two years, but which could boast of such outstanding contributors as Etienne, Béranger and Benjamin Constant. The connection of the author of *Adolphe* with this group had already been the subject of P. Gonnard's article, "Benjamin Constant et le Groupe de la *Minerve*" (*Revue Bleue*, 1913). E. Faguet and Des Granges held rather opposite theories as to the rôle of the *Minerve* in the budding Romantic controversy: the one claimed that it was "moderately Romantic," whereas the other styled it "classico-liberal." We may note, perhaps, that historically these terms seem to designate very much the same mental attitude.

In fact, the *Minerve*, as Dr. Shumway brings out, was dominated largely by Benjamin Constant's political ideas,—a political, social, economic and literary liberalism, that accepted all forms of government on condition that it guarantee individual liberty of thought, action and enterprise. And it proclaimed that such liberalism was everywhere making its way in the world. A "Contrat social" seemed to guarantee individual liberty, and the United States was admired because it emancipated its people by the means of a constitution that jealously preserved their rights as individuals upon all forms of freedom against governmental despotism. It is understandable that religious freedom was defended by attacks on the Jesuits and on the temporal power of the Pope. This volume affords a clear view of the somewhat vague "liberal" doctrines of this ephemeral periodical. It does not end with clear-cut conclusions as to its exact position in the literary world, but this may be due to the fact that the *Minerve* was mainly occupied with contemporary politics. And—we regret to say—these politics are fragrant with the musty odor of antiquated polemics!

But what about the all-important question of the attitude of the *Minerve* towards Romanticism? Dr. Shumway seems to agree too easily with Des Granges that "there were no definitely romantic works before 1820," so that no critical judgment on this tendency could be uttered in its columns. Yet Sénancour's *Obermann*, the Troubadour genre, Grainville's *Le dernier Homme*, the works of Mme de Staël and Chateaubriand, Benjamin Constant's own *Adolphe*, and so many others, appeared before 1820! The "Romantic movement" should not be conceived on such a narrow and traditional chronological basis. In fact, the 1830 explosion was one of the last upheavals in a series of Romantic revolts which all bear similar characteristics and which in vain we try

to distinguish from one another by such terms as "Romanesque, pre-Romantic, Gothic, *mal du siècle*, Wertherism, *genre troubadour*," etc. Although this volume is somewhat dryly statistical and inconclusive, its analysis of the attitude of the *Minerve* and the table of contents of this periodical which it publishes, will render service for a future synthesis of the successive waves—increasing or decreasing—of what we call "Romanticism" in France.

G. L. VAN ROOSBROECK

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Bernard Levy, *The Unpublished Plays of Carolet: A New Chapter on the History of the Théâtre de la Foire*, New York, Publications of the Institute of French Studies, Inc., xiv + 269 pp.

From the point of view of material, one may state that the volume of Dr. Levy on the playwright Carolet is entirely novel. Although this active writer composed almost a hundred plays and is the most outstanding representative of the second generation of the playwrights of the *Foire*,—that generation that stands between Lesage and Favart,—his works had remained practically unpublished. In that, one should note, they shared the fate of a number of other productions of the 18th-century stage, even when they are signed with such well-known names as Lesage, Boissy, Fuselier, Piron, or Favart. Several of their plays, although they were successful and remain important for the history of the stage, are known only by title, or through the *résumés* of the invaluable *Dictionnaire des Théâtres de Paris* of the Frères Parfaict (1756), who had access to a vast number of manuscripts of the *Forains*. These plays constitute a considerable amount of interesting material,—in fact, a vast repertory of the popular stage, which should be investigated in order to complete our picture of the very complex history of the non-Classical theatre before the French Revolution. The tradition which these playwrights established explains the major tendencies of the *théâtre de boulevard* of the early decades of the 19th century.

Dr. Levy's volume makes an inroad into this lesser-known field, and he has proven convincingly that Carolet deserves our attention because he produced such plays of actuality as *La Rue Quinquempoix*, that Wall Street of the early 18th century, where the financial dramas of the Law System were enacted; because he was one of the first to give extension on the stage to the realistic use of the *genre Poissard*, the dialect of a lower Parisian class; because he largely developed the type of the naïve peasant woman of which Favart was to make such an extensive use,—in a word, because he has been, on a minor scale, an innovator who has been maltreated by fate and fame, after his death as well as during his short life.

This contribution to the history of the *Théâtre de la Foire* is done with care and precision, and decidedly fills a *lacuna* in its evolution. It is to be hoped that Dr. Levy will soon publish some of the more outstanding plays of this author whose historical importance he has so justly stressed.

E. Guilhou, *L'Abbé Prévost en Hollande (avec des Documents nouveaux)* . . ., The Hague, 1933, 47 pp.

In this inaugural lecture, Dr. Guilhou has brought a few but significant new documents about the second sojourn of the Abbé Prévost in Holland, which

lasted from the autumn of 1730 to the month of January, 1733. It is during that period that he published volumes V, VI and VII of the *Mémoires et Aventures d'un Homme de Qualité*, and volume VII contained the immortal love-story of the Chevalier des Grieux and Manon Lescaut. It is remarkable that exactly during that period the Abbé Prévost was living with a woman of very doubtful reputation who was known under the names of Lenki or Eccard, and about whom statements are quite in contradiction. She is said to have been a respectable girl of a good Protestant family, whereas others depict her as a low-class public woman who had, for twelve years, been the mistress of a Swiss colonel. Or is it possible that Prévost had two love affairs at that time? However this may be, the Abbé Prévost ruined himself for her and fled from the Hague in great haste. His creditors sold the furniture he left behind him to cover his many debts.

Dr. Guilhou has found in the archives documents which establish that the belongings of Marc Antoine d'Exiles were auctioned off, after his having left the country, for diverse sums due to many creditors. Those were very prosaic people who claimed either rent or money due the baker, or an indebtedness for coal, or taxes on coffee and tea. There were claims of a man-servant, those of a money-lender, those of the sellers of spices and food, etc. And it was said,—and this seems rather sure—that his accounts with some Dutch publishers were far from settled at that moment, and that he absconded with some advance payments.

From Holland, the Abbé Prévost took his mistress to London; and the recent researches of Miss Robertson have demonstrated that there he landed in similar financial difficulties. He was imprisoned for five days because of a false check. Notwithstanding that, he came back to France in the autumn of 1734 and Lenki followed him there. Since it is during this period of passionate attachment to a woman of rather unavowable social standing that *Manon Lescaut* was written, it would seem that the documentary evidence used by Dr. Guilhou is really important. It should not be supposed that the Abbé Prévost was narrating in *Manon Lescaut* some embellished adventure of his early youth. On the contrary, he seemed to have been transposing into fiction his actual life during these most tempestuous years of exile.

Suzanne d'Olivera Jackowska, *La Réhabilitation de Edgar Poe*... 96 pp.; *Le Corbeau de Edgar Poe*, 52 pp., Paris, Les Amis d'Edgar Poe, 1933.

Mme Jackowska, the well-known *diseuse*, is a reverer of Poe and has the talent of communicating her enthusiasm to her French-speaking audiences, before which she has appeared for years as Poe's messenger of glory. These translations are a labor of love and should not be too over-critically tested or compared, for instance, to Mallarmé's rendering of *The Raven* (1875) and other Poe poems. Such a confrontation with the grandmaster of French Symbolism would be unfair, I surmise, to all later translators. And here Mme Jackowska has intended to produce a French text suited à la déclamation. Her rehabilitation of Poe is a fervent act of faith rather than a coolly critical *exposé* of irrefutable fact,—and as such belongs *an jenseits von gut und böse* in scholarship. Mme Jackowska has the admirable and contagious enthusiasm which is needed to sustain and to popularize the cult of Poe and to protect his memory against

stubborn misconceptions, against the "noirs vols du Blasphème épars dans le futur", as Mallarmé wrote.

BARBARA MATULKA

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R. A. Parker, *Claude de l'Estoile, Poet and Dramatist, 1597-1652*, The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, Baltimore, 1930, x + 111 pp.

Few authors have gone to posterity with as slight a literary baggage as Claude de l'Estoile. He wrote two plays, *La Belle Esclave* and *L'Intrigue des Filous*, one or two short *ballets*, and he collaborated, as one of the *Cinq Auteurs*, on apparently two plays written under Richelieu's general direction. Nor was it a lengthy task "to evaluate the poet's entire literary production" as Dr. Parker undertook to do, "aided by the leaven of subsequent criticism", since this literary production weighs but lightly in the scales of literary history. Because of the meagerness of the subject it was unavoidable that this study would suffer from some over-emphasis. The author, for instance, tries to convince us that the conventionally flat or scurrilous verse of de l'Estoile is the incomplete expression of an "artist endowed with some individuality being forced into the mold of classic reason and propriety." But Claude de l'Estoile never exhibited even a trace of original talent or artistry in his verse. His early poems were occasionally licentious, but remained quite devoid of talent, even at best, as in his drinking song:

"Je suis guay, l'oreille me teinte,  
Je recule au lieu d'avancer:  
Avec le premier je me frotte,  
Et je fais sans sçavoir danser  
De beaux entre-chats dans la crotte . . ."

It seems over-emphatic to state: "His was simply the tragedy of the man born too late, forcing himself to conform to the spirit of the age. Like Musset he could exclaim: 'Je suis venu trop tard dans un monde trop vieux'" (p. 37). This treatment seems out of tone and proportion and tends to make literary mountains out of the slight mole-hills of justly forgotten verse. In his discussion of the plays, Dr. Parker studies in detail and very adequately the *Intrigue des Filous* and *La Belle Esclave*, and he has connected them clearly with the preceding theatrical literature. However, on the most important point of his study, that is on the rôle which Claude de l'Estoile has played as one of Richelieu's *Five Authors*, he has not brought new evidence. He has adduced a few parallels, of an inconclusive nature, between *La Belle Esclave* and the *Comédie des Tuilleries* (by the *Cinq Auteurs*), but he rightly rejects these so-called "verbal similarities" as valueless, and leaves the problem of the cooperation of de l'Estoile with his fellow dramatists undecided. Notwithstanding some over-stress and inconclusiveness, this detailed dissertation is welcome as one of the several preliminary investigations needed for a future history of Seventeenth Century letters. It presents interesting sidelights on an eccentric character, an over-praised author, who had some fame in his day, and who helped to found

the French Academy. This alone may constitute a sufficient claim to the kind of immortality conferred by scholarly investigation.

R. ROBERTSON

NEW YORK CITY

ITALIAN LITERARY QUARTERLY

THE sensation created some years back by Alberto Moravia's *Gli indifferenti*<sup>1</sup> still has its echoes. That novel, be it recalled, had all the elements necessary to render it of unusual interest, plus much material and formula of explosive nature. It was a novel centering about the Italian bourgeoisie, having for its theme a methodic libertine who contributed to the moral dissolution of a family of three, a mother, a daughter and a son. Since this novel was published much has been expected of the young author whom the critics had singled out as the coming narrator of Italian letters. What can be said of him in considering his latest book of short stories, *La bella vita* (Lanciano; Giuseppe Carabba, 1935)? The stories decidedly are a disappointment. To begin with, the subject-matter seems to be repeated in every page: it is the ever recurrent theme of lover and mistress, both inevitably smitten with nausea and morbidity. And, if one may dare say it, the stories contain situations of vulgarity which seem to border on obscenity. Does young Moravia see nothing else in life except this sordidness? Granted that an artist must have free rein in depicting such episodes as are common and unescapable in everyday life, still the reader who looks for a breath of poetry, a bit of sentiment, which also exist in life side by side, at times, with vileness, will be horrified to find that Moravia has methodically, as it were, avoided the finer points of human existence. All of life cannot be stuffed into the bourgeois atmosphere of the large cities. There is also the purifying freshness of the countryside: the valley and stream, hill and dale, mountain and sky. Italy is rich in campestrial beauty. Mr. Moravia needs but to contemplate foliage and flower, the plowman and his ox at toil or at rest, to see the strong desire for life, the hope and the simple joys that accompany it. It is along this elemental direction that one acquires simpler and more benignant points of view.

No rule is implied here that Mr. Moravia should not depict the repulsive side of life. Rather, it should be observed more objectively with theme and attitudes slightly reversed. If Mr. Moravia must insist on his note of condemnation, despair and futility as regards morality in general, then let this viewpoint contain its element of dignity and let it lead to some end: not every ship is without a rudder at the mercy of a tempest, nor every human life a piece of wreckage caught in a mountain torrent. This persistence on the part of Moravia to look upon life misanthropically may inevitably lead to his literary bankruptcy. He achieved something in *The Indifferent Ones* through his indirect moralization on the corrupt side of society. It is now time to look for other goals.

In *Anime in cammino* (Milan; Alcea, 1935), Gino Vitalba gives a popularized version of the life of Christ and his Disciples. This type of literary

<sup>1</sup> For a review of the translation of this novel into English, *The Indifferent Ones*, by Aida Mastrangelo, see ROMANIC REVIEW, XXVI, 1935, pp. 158-60.

treatment of a sacred or quasi-sacred topic seems always destined to have a small, but enthusiastic following. The author has developed his story with sincerity and directness—qualities which both the devout and the learned reader can enjoy. This story of Christ, far from being formalized, has all the elements of human love and broad interests. Even the religiously formal episodes of the Miracles, the Sermons, Mary Magdalene's Conversion, the Scourge, the Crucifixion, have their simple but sympathetic narration. To those especially whose religion is remote and nebulous, this novel must have been unconsciously dedicated. It may have, perforce, a limited public, yet it is a book which will stand on its merits.

Orsini Ratto chooses a musical setting for his novel, *Giovanna da Milano* (Milan; Ceschina, 1935), which revolves about a girl singer and various musicians. Unfortunately, the plot, if it may be called one, spins about very trivial incidents in the lives and aspirations of three or four characters. The crux of the story seems to point towards the futility of a musician's efforts to carve a name for himself in the musical circles of today. Following is the author's opinion relative to this point: "Gli artisti d'ogni stirpe e favella recano in solitudine la croce del patimento sopra gli alti calvari della Terra. Tra l'incomprensione dei contemporanei, per la malvagità o indifferenza malevole delle folle ignare, sanguinano trafitti dalle spine. In loro vece sono esaltate le sorridenti sembianze dell'artificio facile che devia dall'erta scarpata del buon gusto, scivola verso moltitudini accampate sulle pendici a gozzovigliare nei bivacchi" (p. 197). The book as a whole, however, falls short of being a novel of interest and recommendation.

Of two novels written by women authors,<sup>2</sup> the first, *L'Argine* (Milan; Treves), by Grazia Deledda, is couched in serenity. It is the story of a lonely man's unrequited love for a middle-aged widow. The story does not measure up to the intensity and interest of the usual Deleddian novel. For the most part, the novel is composed of a series of letters, in which the protagonist, Franco Franci, relates his activities in a town where he endeavors to make a fresh start in life. Withal, the novel has an undercurrent of morality—it is a case of fortitude against evil. Marise Ferro, the other woman writer, although a youngster compared to Deledda, contributed as her novel of the year, *Barbara* (Milan; Mondadori). Several years ago her talent was discovered in a literary prize-competition (Mondadori Academy) in which she was "runner-up". It is to be noted that her *coup d'essai*, *Disordine*, though a novel of absorbing interest, lacked a certain amount of background and maturity. How much progress can be conceded to Miss Ferro in her new creation? There is still lacking in her work a more absorbing portrayal of life with its pathos, its dignity or indignity. *Barbara* is a finely worked-out analytic sketch of a girl and her friendship for Victoria, the other heroine of the novel. Yet it lacks *materia prima*, the flesh and bone, as it were, that is a prerequisite for a novel of architectonic structure and merit.

The Italian Academy Prize of 50,000 lire was awarded recently to Ada Negri, the dean of women poets. It is now over forty years since the appear-

<sup>2</sup> For a more detailed account of the following discussions, see *The Modern Language Journal*, XIX, No. 8, May, 1935, pp. 592-594.

ance of *Fatalità*, during which time it has been perhaps the most popular volume of poetry. The vogue of *Fatalità* must be attributed chiefly to its sentimental strain which, admitting all possible objections, has a sense of refinement. Her volume of poems of recent date, *Vespertina* (Milan; Mondadori), has been republished. Though it contains echoes of the romantic strain of the past generation as well as of various schools, the poems are characterized by beauty and sincerity and an ever-present autumnal reflection. It can be said that from the obvious sentimentality of *Fatalità* and other volumes, Ada Negri, in *Vespertina*, has passed to a delicate and artistic outlook on life which she surveys with Olympian serenity. The extract below will best exemplify this point:

"Saluta all'alba il ritornante sole  
come il più grande bene a te concesso,  
o creatura: del sentirti in vita  
ringrazia il giorno: il dolor vecchio e il nuovo  
riprendi al lato, pallidi compagni  
ma forti, e dolci senza sapienza  
che sol viene dal pianto; e va con Dio  
per la tua strada. . . ." (*Pregbiera dell'alba*, p. 16).

O. A. BONTEMPO

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#### RUMANIAN BOOK NOTES

Const. Graur, *Cu privire la Franz Ferdinand*, Bucureşti, Editura, "Adevărul," 1935, 576 pp.

The managing editor of the independent and influential Bucharest daily *Adevărul* (The Truth), Const. Graur, was, for some time before the World War, the Vienna correspondent of that newspaper at the head of which he presides today. As he states in the preface of his *Concerning Francis-Ferdinand*: "I saw what happened there, and then, reviewing the facts as much as it was possible, I compared everything with what others saw. I have thought of offering neither scientific nor literary work. From what I myself and others wrote, before and after the War, I tried to detach a picture which, I hope, is authentic. In numerous cases the picture stands out by itself: it is sufficient to remind one of a characteristic fact, taken at random from the numberless many, and reproduce from the consecutive references to it I had the opportunity to make later at intervals of years and decades." And the author questions himself: "Was such a work useful?" "Of course," he answers, "I believe it was, otherwise I would not have published the book. With reference to the reactionary movements which have been manifesting themselves for some time, a concrete example will be welcome, I trust, so that we may all realize what becomes of a State which seeks its support solely in the past: it collapses in chaos."

Graur is well known as an extremely cautious journalist, religiously scrupulous, though daring in his assertions whenever the truth is to be snatched from the Pharisees and preserved intact. Although, due to his inherent modesty, he claims that the present volume is neither scientific nor literary, we must make it clear that, on the contrary, it is an exciting book, scintillating with original

characterizations, irradiating a superlative sense of humor, and, above everything, bringing back to full life political characters of yore. Of these, Francis-Ferdinand stands out in a rather new light: the Austrian Crown Prince, whose assassination at Serajevo served as a pretext to the war-lords in the late world conflict, was a reactionary more dangerous than his legendarily "kind" and "democratic" uncle, Emperor Francis-Joseph, the central figure in numerous family and state tragedies, who is credited with saying: *Nichts wurde mir erspart!* Francis-Ferdinand, according to Count Czernin, one of his own camilla, was "not a fool (*er war nicht dumm*), but neither was he a great mind; he was not a man with large conceptions; his sort of intelligence could be characterized rather by the word shrewdness." And this ambitious average-man mixed in the administration of his autocratic uncle, whose impatient heir to the throne he was, to such an extent that there were actually two rulers in the conglomeration of conflicting nationalities of Austria-Hungary: Francis-Joseph and Francis-Ferdinand, opposed to each other, to the great despair of their subordinates whose daily routine was to pass along the buck, forwards and backwards. They even coined a phrase for the procedure: *dancing among eggs*. Austria-Hungary was doomed to perish merely by this very condition. In addition, there appears the certainty that Francis-Ferdinand was preparing to revive medieval methods of administration. These are but scant glimpses of the vast picture which detaches itself from Graur's absorbing and stimulating pages.

C. Stere, *In preajma revoluției*, Roman, vol. VI: *Ciubărești*, București, Editura "Adevărul", 1935, 392 pp.

With his sixth volume of the serial novel *In the Neighborhood of the Revolution*,<sup>1</sup> C. Stere begins a new epoch in the life of Vania Răutu, the hero, who is none other than the author himself. The Bessarabian, who spent his youth in Siberia as a political prisoner, goes to Rumania after the completion of his term of banishment. *Ciubărești* is no other city than Jassy; and the people he meets there are personalities known in the political and literary spheres of the country. Here the author treads on dangerous ground. As long as he depicted men and women of far-off Russia and Siberia, it was safe to show even physical resemblances of models. Hardly had the first copies of this volume, however, reached the reading public, when bitter gossip began. In spite of the accuracy of the *milieu*, the characters are composite portraits of representative men and women, as Stere explains in a recent reply to one of his critics, rather than photographs of real persons. In some instances these appear, to be sure, true to life, but such is the privilege of the artist. The fact is that Stere succeeds in giving us a fragment of reality enhanced by the architectonic magnitude of the novel.

Vania Răutu, although a Rumanian from Bessarabia by birth, was educated and suffered in the Russian turmoil. Even his language is not the Rumanian of the free kingdom. He speaks it brokenly at first, and resorts to his Moldavian *patois* whenever vocabulary and idiomatic difficulties arise, and even to Russian. And this Russianized Răutu, out of the giant empire in the throes of profound upheavals, suddenly faces the small life in a small town. This contrast emphasizes the sixth book and forms the necessary connection between the first five volumes and the awaited ensuing ones. It seems as if a spark of the Russian

<sup>1</sup> See THE ROMANIC REVIEW, #1 and #2, 1935.

fire has fallen on the dry fields of Rumania. Răutu has not ceased for a moment to pursue his plan laid out in Siberia: the destruction of the czar's power for the salvation not only of Russia, but of Europe itself. One need not be a crystal-gazer in order to foretell that coming volumes will show the part planned or played by Răutu in the politics of official Rumania, preceding, during and after the World War. Stere once more shows that his story is more *Wahrheit* than *Dichtung*.

Tudor Teodorescu-Braniște, *Băiatul Popii*, Roman, Ediția II, București, Editura "Adevărul," 1934, 390 pp.

As a newspaperman Tudor Teodorescu-Braniște has been wielding the polemist's pen with dexterity, and his daily political onslaugths have wrought havoc in the ranks of his opponents. *The Priest's Son*—no epigram, as in the Rumanian Christian Orthodox church, priests marry,—is not his first novel, but the first in which the chief quality of the journalist contributes to the success of the novelist.

Alexandru Murgu, the only son of a widowed village-priest, received a decoration and two wounds in the World War, then continued his studies in Bucharest and Germany, where he obtained his Doctorate. Returning from abroad in troubled times, he decides to devote himself to Socialism and help save the masses. By doing so, he opposes the politics of his father, a member of the Peasant Party. This conflict as well as subsequent ones cause Alexandru's disenchantment. His place, he discovers late, is among the villagers, with his father. Iancu Văleanu-Murgeni, the Secretary of the Interior, hails from the same village where father and son are opposing candidates in the elections for the Chamber of Deputies. Văleanu-Murgeni cannot allow either of them to win. The party in power must be victorious in his fief. Thus we witness realistic descriptions, true in every detail, of an election in the years following the War. The Murgus, father and son, are arrested and kept in jail until the "people" decide. The governmental candidate obtains the votes. Alexandru's political disenchantment is complicated by the *dénouement* of his love for the Secretary's daughter, Valérie, who, at first, for a very short interval, saw in him the romantic revolted hero, and was ready to renounce her class prejudices, privileges and opportunities, and become his wife; but later, coincident with the weakening of Alexandru's Socialistic convictions, wrongly discovers that her epic conqueror is a ridiculous Quixote. Conditions do not allow great loves and radical dreams to be realized. The steam roller of tradition does its work.

Ury Benador, *Subiect banal*, Roman, și *Appassionata*, Nuvelă, București, Editura Librăriei "Universala" Alcalay & Co., 1935, 197 pp.

This *Hackneyed Plot* of jealousy is treated by Ury Benador in no trite manner. The swift and realistic narration of a *paranoid dementia praecox* case fastens the interest of the reader to the very last line. In *Appassionata* is described the fanatic rabbi who falls under the spell of a Beethoven sonata. There, fantasy and realism blend convincingly. Benador is gradually revealing himself as an author of consequence.

Ion Pillat, *Pasărea de lăut*, Ediția II, București, Editura "Adevărul," 1934, 240 pp.

*The Bird of Clay* is a collection of verse written during the years 1918-1933 by Ion Pillat, one of the prominent contemporary Rumanian poets. His

work may be characterized as a tuneful blending of the traditional and modernistic. Born in a family of statesmen—his maternal grandfather was Ion C. Brătianu, the father of Ion I. C. Brătianu—and educated in Paris, Pillat himself is at present the Vice-President of the National-Liberal Chamber of Deputies and a lecturer on literary subjects, such as the Poetry of Baudelaire. The Occidental roots of his learning as well as the Oriental roots of his ancestry yield flowers of arresting beauty. In spite of his exalted position, Pillat is a retiring and charmingly simple person, preferring his songs to the noise of politics, from which, however, he cannot tear himself away, more perhaps because of the tradition in the family he reveres. He sings of the ancestral estate, where grandfather Brătianu (the founder of modern Rumania) and uncle Brătianu (the Premier who represented Rumania at Versailles) walked, holding the hand of the then tiny Ion, the future delicate troubadour. But bard-like he revives in his stanzas the glories of the past. Nature attracts him foremost, the old village vibrates in his symphony, and the cuckoo

"gray feathered, cannot be stilled:  
 Cuckoo! in the valley . . . Cuckoo! among the hills . . .  
 Cuckoo! and another Spring escapes me into the distant horizon . . .  
 Cuckoo! and further yet, my childhood . . ."

Şerban Cioculescu, *Corespondența dintre I. L. Caragiale și Paul Zarifopol (1905-1912)*, Bucureşti, Fundația pentru Literatură și Artă "Regele Carol II," 1935, 85 pp.

Among the young critics of contemporary Rumanian letters, Şerban Cioculescu is in the first rank, due to his background of affluent knowledge and sharp esthetic response. In publishing the correspondence between I. L. Caragiale (1832-1911),<sup>2</sup>—Rumania's quintessence of Molière and Mark Twain,—and the late essayist and critic, Paul Zarifopol, who edited his works, Cioculescu adds substantially to Caragiale's biographical material. One also learns that Zarifopol contributed in good measure to the friendship of the two, especially in the appreciation of music of the master of Rumanian humor. Caragiale's preference was Beethoven. "He calls him respectfully *boerul*," states Cioculescu. A parenthetic explanation is necessary: *boerul* (the boyar), member of the Rumanian élite, is always the subject of awe and respect of the villagers and townspeople. Caragiale, by calling Beethoven *boerul*, reveals his inherent conservatism, which grants the boyar, indiscriminately, not only his social, economic and political status, but also subtle cultural qualities. . . . To continue thus, however, would mean trespassing the limits of our succinct notes.

Victor Hugo, *Pentru Adevar și Libertate*, in românește de Ion Pas, Cuvânt introductiv de Anatole France, Bucureşti, Editura "Santier," 1935, 32 pp.

Ion Pas, the editor of *Santier* (Shop) translates and publishes Victor Hugo's *For Truth and Freedom*, with a preface by Anatole France. This booklet is one of a collection edited by Pas, with the purpose of developing among working men and women a taste for good reading and, mainly, radical ideas. Leftist movements in Rumania have always largely contributed to its culture although

<sup>2</sup> If Adamescu in his *Contribuțione la Bibliografia Românească*, (Fascicola III, Seria 3-a), Bucureşti, Editura Casei Ţăoalelor, 1928, is correct, Caragiale died in 1911. How does Cioculescu place the correspondence between Caragiale and Zarifopol in 1912?

as a rule they paid with their own extinction. It is a matter of fact that Socialism, in the last quarter of the 19th century, hastened the development of modern Rumanian thought. I. C. Atanasiu's *Miscrea Socialistă* (The Socialist Movement), 1881-1900, Bucureşti, Editura "Adevărul," 1932, which establishes this historical truth, won a prize from the official Rumanian Academy.

Among the other pamphlets in the *Santier* collection are: Jack London, *My Life*, translated by I. Plugaru and prefaced by Ion Pas; Jean Jaurès, *Civilization and Socialism*, transl. P. Ioanid, pref. E. Vandervelde; N. Deleanu, *The Slaves of Coal, Gold, Steel and the Ports*, pref. Ion Pas; Eugen Relgis, *Europe the Young*, pref. Romain Rolland; and Ioan I. Mirescu, *The Proletariat and Directed Economy*, pref. Lotar Rădăceanu.

From this list one can easily gather the wide scope of the publications.

LEON FERARU

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#### FACULTY NOTES

BLACKBURN COLLEGE, CARLINVILLE, ILL. Miss Ruth E. Cowdrick, who is a candidate for the Ph.D. degree at Columbia, has been added to the staff.

BROOKLYN COLLEGE, N. Y. Prof. P. J. Salvatore's doctoral dissertation, *Favart's Unpublished Plays: The Rise of the Popular Comic Opera*, has recently been issued by the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*. J. J. Spagnoli's doctoral dissertation dealing with the social ideas of Marcel Proust will be ready for presentation in the near future.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE, R. I. Prof. L. Landré, who has been a member of the Dept. since 1926, has returned to France to continue in professional service there. Mme L. Landré, who has been Asst. Professor in Pembroke College in Brown University, has also returned to France. Prof. J. A. Bédé, formerly Asst. Professor at Princeton University, has been appointed Assoc. Professor. Mr. F. Thénaud has been added to the staff as Instructor.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE, BRYN MAWR, PA. The following appointments and promotions have been made: Miss Berthe-Marie Marti, Asst. Professor of Latin and French; Jean Guiton, Asst. Professor of French; and Mlle Madeleine Soubeiran, Assoc. Professor in the French Department.

COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. On May 28 a most impressive meeting was held in The Great Hall in commemoration of King Albert I of Belgium and of the bicentenary of Prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne. The speakers included: His Excellency, Count Robert van der Straten-Ponthoz, Belgian Ambassador to the United States; His Excellency, D. Hennen Morris, American Ambassador to Belgium; Dr. F. B. Robinson, President of the College of the City of New York, and Prof. G. L. van Roosbroeck of Columbia University. About 2,000 persons were present. Prof. V. L. Dedeck-Héry, whose publications include: *Étude littéraire et linguistique de li Hystore de Julius Cesar de Jehan de Tuim*; *La Tchécoslovaquie et les Tchécoslovaques*; *The Life of Saint Alexis: An Old French Poem of the 11th Century*, spent the Summer in research work in Paris. Dr. E. H. Polinger, who had been granted the Ph.D. degree by Columbia on his dissertation, *Pierre-Charles Roy, Playwright and Satirist (1683-1764)*, has been advanced to Asst. Professor. Dr. B. Levy, whose doctoral dissertation was on *The Unpublished Plays of Carolet: A New*

*Chapter on the Théâtre de la Foire*, has been granted leave of absence during the coming semester. Prof. J.-B. Zacharie received the Legion of Honor in recognition of his fruitful activity as President of the Société des Professeurs Français en Amérique. His efforts for the development of this Society during the past fifteen years were much appreciated by every one interested in French culture in the United States. We also associate in this homage Mr. P. Guttin, who has served for many years as Director of the Appointment Committee. *School of Business and Civic Administration*: Mr. L. P. Courtines has been awarded the Diploma de Suficiencia of the Centro de Estudios Históricos of the Spanish Ministry of Fine Arts.

COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY, RICHMOND, VA. Miss Margaret L. Johnson is completing the requirements for the Ph.D. degree at Columbia.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. Dr. Arthur Livingston has been promoted from Associate Professor to Professor of Romance Languages. Some of the latest volumes of the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies* include: T. J. Beck, *Northern Antiquities in French Learning and Literature (1755-1855)*: Vol. II — *The Odin Legend and the Oriental Fascination*; Manya Lifschitz-Golden, *Les Juifs dans la Littérature française du Moyen Âge* (*Mystères, Miracles, Chroniques*); A. P. Moore, *The Genre Poissard and the French Stage of the 18th Century*; Ruth Parmly, *The Geographical References in the "Chanson de Garsin le Loberain"*; J. Gessler, *La Manière de Langage... (Modèles de Conversations composés en Angleterre à la Fin du XIVe Siècle)*; Prince de Ligne, *Lettres à Eugénie sur les Spectacles*, publ. by Gustave Charlier; Prince de Ligne, *Lettres à la Marquise de Coigny*, publ. by Henri Lebasteur. The doctoral dissertation of L. M. Levin, *The Political Doctrine of the "Esprit des Lois": Its Classical Background*, has been accepted. Columbia College: The doctoral dissertation of S. R. Mitchneck, "Yon" or "La Venjance Fromondin", *A 13th-Century Chanson de Geste of the Lorraine Cycle, Published for the First Time* (MS 1622 of the Bibl. Nat., Paris), has recently been issued by the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*. I. F. Fraser's valuable *Bibliography of French-Canadian Poetry*, the publication of which has been made possible by a generous grant made by the Carnegie Corp., has just appeared under the imprint of the above *Publications*.

GUILFORD COLLEGE, N. C. Dr. F. R. Pope, formerly a member of the French Dept. of New York University and whose doctoral dissertation was *Nature in the Work of Camille Lemonnier*, has been engaged as Professor and Head of the Dept. of Romance Languages.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS. Volume XVII of the *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* contains the following contributions: M. Françon, *La Tradition littéraire au Moyen Âge*; R. L. Hawkins, *Unpublished French Letters*; W. G. Howard, *The Chivalry of the Cid*; J. M. Pratt, *Discovery and Solution of the Bibliographical Problem in the Two English Versions of Deschamps's "Cato of Utica"*. The Ph.D. degree has been conferred by Columbia upon Instructor Halfdan Gregersen on his dissertation, *Ibsen and Spain: A Study in Comparative Drama*.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C. *La Tour de Nesle* by Alexandre Dumas (père), edited by Asst. Prof. T. A. Daley, with introduction, notes and vocabulary, has recently been published by the Bayard Press.

HUNTER COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK. The volume, *Short French Poems for Recitation* (For Class and Club Use), selected and edited by Miss Rose-Marie Daele, with an Introduction by Prof. Claudine Gray, has recently been issued by the Bayard Press.

KANSAS CITY JUNIOR COLLEGE, KANSAS CITY, MO. Miss Gerardine Knotter has spent the Summer in graduate work at Columbia.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON SQUARE COLLEGE. *Dept. of Spanish*: The contents of the November, 1935, issue of *The Spanish Review*, of which Prof. J. W. Barlow is General Director and Dr. Barbara Matulka is Editor, will include: G. L. van Roosbroeck, *Spanish Prose-Poems of Aloysius Bertrand*; E. Núñez, *Expresionismo en la poesía indigenista del Perú*; H. A. Holmes, *The Influence of Uruguay on the Comte de Lautréamont*; Madaline W. Nichols, *The Gaucho "Motif" in Río de la Plata Life*; Josephine de Boer, *George Sand and Chopin in Mallorca*; L. G. Woolley, *Pablo de Sarasate, Violinist and Composer*; Carolina M. Dorado, *Popular Customs in the Valencian Region*; reviews of recent books of Spanish and Spanish-American interest by D. F. Ratcliff, J. E. Englekirk and Barbara Matulka; Spanish Class-Texts; Spanish Activities.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY, EVANSTON, ILL. Prof. E. B. Place, formerly of the Univ. of Colorado, has been engaged as Professor of Romance Languages and Chairman of the Department. The important contribution, *D'Annunzio Abroad: A Bibliographical Essay*, by Profs. J. G. Fucilla and J. M. Carrière, has recently appeared under the imprint of the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*. Prof. Fucilla spent the Summer in research work in Italy; Prof. Carrière is engaged in research investigations in Louisiana.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, COLUMBUS, O. Doctoral dissertations accepted include: E. H. Price, *Montesquieu and Voltaire: A Comparison of Literary and Political Ideas in Their Major Works*; R. J. Wertheim, *The Use of Facial Expression to Show Desire, Anger and Fear in the Short Stories of Guy de Maupassant*. The doctoral dissertation of A. Crisafulli, *A Critical Edition of Montesquieu's "Lettres Persanes"*, is being completed and will be ready for presentation in the near future. During the past year Prof. D. L. Demorest has collaborated with M. R. Dumesnil on a series of articles in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* under the title "Bibliographie de Gustave Flaubert".

(GEORGE) PEABODY COLLEGE FOR TEACHERS, NASHVILLE, TENN. Doctoral dissertations accepted include: P. T. Manchester, *Bibliography and Critique of the Spanish Translations from American Poetry*; M. L. Shane, *France in the Lettres of Prosper Mérimée*; H. Schug, *Latin Sources of Gonzalo de Berceo's "El Sacrificio de la Misericordia"*; C. W. Smith, *Concha Espina and Her Women Characters*; C. A. Rochedieu, *Contributions to Rousseau Studies*; Helen M. Lacy, *Bibliography and Critique of the English Translations from French Lyric Poetry*; Geraldine Dilla, *France and England in Mutual Criticism (1898-1914)*.

SETON HALL COLLEGE, SOUTH ORANGE, N. J. Rev. J. L. McNulty, former Instructor of French and Religion, after having spent three years at New York University, where he received his Ph.D. degree, has returned as Head of the Dept. of Modern Languages.

SORBONNE, PARIS. Prof. Gustave Cohen has recently returned after having delivered lectures in the Universities of London, Oxford and Cambridge. The Doctorat de l'Université de Paris has been conferred upon H. L. Brugmans

on his dissertation, *Le Séjour de Christian Huygens à Paris et ses Relations avec les Milieux scientifiques français*.

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, VANCOUVER, CAN. Dr. Dorothy F. Dallas has recently received a medal from the French Academy in recognition of her thesis, *Le Roman français de 1660 à 1680*.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY. The Ph.D. degree has been conferred upon Lucia B. Kinnaird on her dissertation, *Argentina and the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes*. Miss Madaline W. Nichols has been awarded the Mt. Holyoke 1905 Fellowship for the coming year.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, ILL. The doctoral dissertation of F. R. Bryson, *The Point of Honor in 16th-Century Italy: An Aspect of the Life of the Gentleman*, has recently been issued by the *Publications of the Institute of French Studies*.

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO, BOULDER. Prof. E. B. Place, a member of the Romance staff since 1913 and Departmental Head since 1931, has resigned to accept a position as Professor of Romance Languages and Chairman of the Dept. at Northwestern University. Prof. Stuart Cuthbertson, whose volume, *The Poetry of José Márromol*, has recently been published, has been named Acting Head. Dr. J. A. H. Keith, Ph. D., Harvard, 1933, has been appointed Instructor in French and Spanish. Mr. Roy A. Cox will be absent during the coming year to work for the doctorate at Wisconsin. Miss Dorothy Heironimus and Miss Evelyn Wolcott, who are candidates for the Ph.D. degree at this institution, have been added to the staff as part-time instructors.

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI, COLUMBIA. The doctoral dissertation of W. A. Dorrance, *The Survival of French in the Ste. Genevieve District (Missouri)*, which has been accepted, has recently been published.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON, EUGENE. Prof. R. P. Bowen has made progress in amassing and organizing material in his study on Balzac's treatment of dramatic elements in his novels. Assoc. Prof. C. B. Beall has been awarded a fellowship for the year 1935-36 by the American Council of Learned Societies on the subject, *The Literary Fortunes of Tasso in France*. The Ph.D. degree has been conferred upon Mrs. Edna Landros on her dissertation, *The Latinity of Isidor of Seville: A Linguistic Study of His Histories*. Doctoral dissertations in preparation include: L. B. Ellis, *J. F. Marmonet as a Critic*; W. T. Starr, *Romain Rolland's Internationalism*.

UNIVERSITY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, DURHAM. Assoc. Prof. J. H. Marceau, after seventeen years of service, has retired. H. H. Hart has been engaged as graduate assistant and assistant in University Extension by Columbia University.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, BURLINGTON. Asst. Prof. R. F. Doane has been granted leave of absence during the coming year in order to complete the requirements for the Ph.D. degree at the University of Paris.

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, ST. LOUIS, MO. Dr. Harcourt Brown, who recently returned from a Fellowship granted by the American Council of Learned Societies and whose Columbia doctoral dissertation was on the *Scientific Organizations in 17th-Century France*, has been appointed Professor and Head of the Dept. of Romance Languages. Mrs. Adele C. Starbird, Dean of Women,

has spent the Summer in graduate study in Columbia and is preparing a dissertation on *Feminist Literature in 19th-Century France*.

CAROLINE MATULKA

NEW YORK CITY

## VARIA

EDUCATIONAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHIC—THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES offers a limited number of small grants (\$300 maximum) to individual scholars to assist them in carrying on definite projects of research. Candidates must be citizens of the United States or Canada or permanently employed or domiciled therein, and must possess a doctor's degree or its equivalent. Applications must be mailed to the Secretary of the Council (907 15th St., Washington, D. C.) not later than Jan. 15, 1936. The system of research fellowships has been temporarily suspended.—PRESIDENT BUTLER was awarded, on June 5, the Grand Cross of the Greek Government "for his efforts to further peace in the Balkans and for his interest in, and understanding of, both ancient and modern Greece."—DR. R. M. MYERS, Acting Assistant Professor of Modern Languages at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., was awarded, on May 9, an American Field Service Fellowship for study in France.—HARVARD UNIVERSITY abolished, on June 6, the long-standing requirement of sophomores of "a reading knowledge of either German or French and an elementary knowledge of the other" and substituted therefor "a reading knowledge of one of the two languages."—BOSTON UNIVERSITY announced, during the Summer, an arrangement of exchange fellowships, graduate and undergraduate, with the Universities of Milan, Padua, Perugia, Rome and Siena.—ELEVEN STUDENTS, representing different American universities, spent two weeks in France in June as guests of the Société des Amis des Universités. Each had a "spending allowance" of 1,000 fr., donated by the French Government.—MEXICO UNIVERSITY's 15th Summer Session, held during July, included more than 400 students from all parts of the United States, representing 50 universities and colleges. Their favorite subject was Mexican culture.—THE UNIVERSITY OF HAVANA, occupied by military forces since March, was turned over to the civil authorities on July 3 and Dr. José Guerra Lopez, Professor of Law and well-known Havana attorney, was elected its Rector. It will be reopened in January, 1936.—DR. JORGE MANACH, Harvard graduate and teacher at Columbia, was awarded on May 20 at Havana the Justo de Lara Prize (\$1,000) for the best newspaper article written and published by a Cuban in 1934. The article, entitled "The Style of the Revolution," was published in *Acción* (Oct. 21), newspaper of the ABC Revolutionary Society, of which Dr. Manach was a leader.—THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY purchased in May, at the auction of the J. B. Stetson collection, six famous medieval romances as well as a treatise on the art of war, all printed in France in the first quarter of the 16th century.—THE LONG-SUPPRESSED MS by the Marquis de Caulaincourt, twice Minister of Foreign Affairs under Napoleon, will be published at New York in November in an English version, entitled *With Napoleon in Russia*.—JOSEPH VENDRYÈS read recently before the Institut a paper on Trigeminous Personages in Celtic Tradition, a mystic theme that he connected with the Roman legend of the Horatii and Curiatii.—THE DANTE ALIGHIERI SOCIETY of Rhodes opened, during the Summer, a series of lectures

and courses dealing with the art and literature of Italy and the Near East, which are being given in the magnificent Palace of the Knights. Students of Italy and foreign lands have been invited, many of them aided by scholarships.—SALE OF THE HENRI BÉRALDI COLLECTION. Part IV of this small, but most valuable library, consisting of "Les Livres illustrés modernes", was dispersed at auction on June 17-18 at the Galerie Jean Charpentier, Paris (cf., for the sale of Pts. I-III, THE ROMANIC REVIEW, XXV, 1934, pp. 273-74; XXVI, 1935, p. 78). The proceeds from the sale of this Pt. having reached 1,273,460 fr., the total for the collection thus far exceeds 9,773,000 fr. The highest prices paid at the last auction include the following: Montesquieu, *Les Lettres persanes*, éd. Jouaust, 1886, ornées de huit dessins originaux d'Edouard de Beaumont, 80,000 fr.; *Les Contes de Perrault*, éd. Boussod-Valadon, 1887, avec 67 croquis et dessins originaux du même artiste, 70,000 fr.; Louis Legrand, *La Faune parisienne*, 31 dessins en couleur, 63,000 fr.; Hugo, *Notre Dame de Paris*, 41 dessins originaux de Luc-Olivier Merson, 40,000 fr.; Theuriet, *La Vie rustique*, enrichie de 130 aquarelles de Giacomelli, 40,100 fr.; Louis Legrand, *Cours de danse fin de siècle*, 13 dessins orig., 30,000 fr.; Henri de Régnier, *L'Initiation vénitienne*, dessins orig. de Lepape, 9,000 fr.; Vicaire, *Rosette en paradis*, avec 15 dessins orig. de Louis Morin, 8,500 fr.; etc.—SALE OF PART III OF THE EDOUARD RAHIR COLLECTION. This celebrated library, organized by the late publisher, has been well called "unique au monde" by Francis Ambrrière, since Pt. I realized in 1930, 7,000,000 fr.; Pt. II, 1931, 11,000,000 fr.; and Pt. III, May 9, 1935, more than 1,200,000 fr. And Pts. IV and V are still to be sold! Highest prices paid at the last sale were for the following 18th-century publications: *La Fontaine, Fables choisies*, éd. Desaint, Saillant et Durand, ornée de figures par Oudry, 75,000 fr.; *La Fontaine, Contes et Nouvelles*, éd. des Fermiers Généraux, 24,000 fr.; *Fables manuscrites*, composées par un anonyme, ornées de 35 dessins originaux par Oudry, 51,000 fr.; Godard d'Aucour, *Thémidore ou mon histoire et celle de ma maîtresse*, copiée à la main par Germain de Saint-Aubin et illustrée de 15 dessins orig. par son parent Gabriel, 23,500 fr.; *Les Amours pastorales de Daphnis et Chloé*, éd. du Régent, illustrées de 28 figures de Philippe d'Orléans, 43,500 fr.; *L'Histoire du chevalier des Grieux*, dernière éd. publiée par l'auteur (Amsterdam, Paris, Didot, 1753), 55,000 fr.; *Lettres de deux Amans*, "habitans d'une petite ville au pied des Alpes", recueillies par J.-J. Rousseau, éd. orig., 27,500 fr.; etc.—PARIS BOOK-SALES. April: *Œuvres de Rabelais* (1873), illustration de Gustave Doré, 5,000 fr.; *Paul et Virginie* (1838), 6,000 fr.; *Baudelaire, Fleurs du mal*, illustrées par Rochegrosse, 6,000 fr.; A. France, *Les Diaboliques* (1910), éd. Romagnol, 7,050 fr.; Huysmans, *A Rebours* (1903), illusc-  
cace à Jules Claretie, 8,100 fr.; Richepin, *La Chanson des Gueux* (1910), illustré par Steinlein, 6,920 fr.; Jules Renard, *Histoires naturelles*, 6,520 fr.; Erasme, *Eloge de la Folie*, illustré par Lepère, 6,150 fr.; Pierre Louys, *Approbite*, éd. orig., "truffée" de trois lettres adressées à Albert Besnard, 8,300 fr. May: Claude de Chastillon, *Topographie française* (1655), contenant 143 planches, 6,400 fr.; Boccace, *Décaméron* (1757-61), illustré par Boucher, Gravelot, Cochin et Eisen, 25,200 fr.; Dorat, *Fables nouvelles* (1773), ornées par Marillier, 25,100 fr.; *La Fontaine, Fables choisies*, avec les figures d'Oudry, 40,000 fr.; Moreau et Freudeberg, *Le Monument du Costume*, 48,000 fr.; *L'Œuvre d'Antoine Watteau*, le plus beau recueil de gravures du XVIIIe siècle, tiré vers 1735

à 100 exemplaires dont il ne reste plus guère qu'une trentaine, 74,000 fr.; MS of Musset's *Discours de Réception à l'Académie française en 1852*, 15,200 fr.; *Homélies sur l'Ancien Testament* (12th-13th cents.), 36,100 fr.; *Heures à l'usage de Tours* (15th-cent. MS, with 7 miniatures), 8,200 fr.; *Fables de Bidpay* (1st Lat. ed., Strassburg, Johann Prüss, ca. 1490, with 119 wood-engravings), 5,150 fr.; *Passional Christi und Antichristi* (1st ed., 16th cent.), 8,020 fr.; MS-letter of Napoleon to Barras, dated at Cairo, *L'Esprit de Rivoli plane sur nous*, 23,500 fr.; *Mémoires*, MS by Barras, 14,000 fr.; *La Statistique des Bourbons et Consorts*, 572-page MS, with Napoleon's arms, containing a list of more than 600 names of persons, "suspectées d'attachement à la cause des Bourbons", 13,500 fr.; Langlès, *Recherche sur la Découverte de l'Essence de Rose*, with autographs of Napoleon and Josephine, 6,000 fr. *June*: Lettres de Maupassant à Dr. Cazalis, 15,550 fr.; Marie Bashkirtseff, 11 *Cahiers intimes*, 5,500 fr.; 14 lettres de V. Hugo à Mme Auguste Penquer (1862-85), 6,020 fr.; Lettres de jeunesse de Stéphane Mallarmé, 7,500 fr.; *Le Neveu de Rameau*, éd. Piazza, 1929, avec 14 dessins orig., 5,180 fr.; *Liaisons dangereuses*, éd. Carteret, 1914, avec 7 dessins orig. de Jeanniot, 5,900 fr.—ANDRÉ THÉRIVE's "Querelles de Langage" in *Nouvelles Littéraires*. *April 20*: He notes that the word *trublion*, recently admitted into the Academy's Dictionary, first appeared in A. France's *M. Bergeret à Paris* (1899), with the meaning "agitateur réactionnaire"; that *évader*, now sometimes used as a trans. verb, is "un archaïsme qui remonte au 16e siècle" (cf. 17th-century use of *échapper* in *l'échapper belle*). *April 27*: He prefers *le Normandie* by ellipsis for *le paquebot N.*, just as one says *le (journal) Fémina, le champagne, la Toussaint, le Languedoc*, etc. *May 4*: He holds that the word *péréquater*, popular in Belgium for the past ten years, "est barbare, puisqu'il remplace gauchement *pérerquer*"; that *doyen* can only be used in the superlative sense and never in the comparative; that *pédigène* (for *pour les pieds*) is "ridicule . . . fabriqué sur le modèle *pédicure*." *May 18*: He remarks that F. Strowski, in a review of "un vaudeville de la plus atroce vulgarité", "a grandement scandalisé certains de ses lecteurs en écrivant *séductionnant pour séduisant*", but he adds that this is merely "jargon du cinéma", which has formed, after *émotionner* and *impressionner*, such words as *solutionner, réceptionner, déceptionner*, etc.; that "la langue *vébulaire* de l'enseignement" is "un tour risible de charabia officiel" for "la langue d'enseignement." *June 1*: Paul Dermée having noted "l'urgence qu'il y a à doter la télévision d'un vocabulaire cohérent et pas trop barbare", he suggests compound words formed with *radio-* and *télé-* and adds wisely: "Ne surchargeons pas les vocabulaires techniques; ils ne servent aucunement la clarté de la langue, qui est proportionnée à sa pauvreté et non à sa richesse." *June 22*: He makes interesting observations on W. von Wartburg's *Evolution et Structure de la Langue française* (which he calls a "remarquable ouvrage"), noting that "il veut pleuvoir" is not used in French, "sauf peut-être dans l'Est et le Nord". *July 27*: With reference to *dettes interallié(e)s*, he prefers the feminine, but he dislikes the term, which, he says, "date de la guerre" and adds that the term "aurait été exprimé jadis, en bon français, par *dettes mutuelles des alliés*.

NECROLOGY—SISTER MARIE ALBERT, Instructor in French at the New Rochelle Ursuline School, died at New Rochelle on May 20 at the age of 29. Born as Mary Donovan in New York, she was graduated from the College of New

Rochelle in 1927 and served her novitiate in Beaugency, France.—ARTHUR BYNE, architect, author and painter, who had lived in Spain since 1916, was killed in an automobile collision at Santa Cruz de Mudela (Ciudad Real), on July 15. Born at Philadelphia on Sept. 25, 1883, he was graduated at the School of Architecture, University of Pennsylvania, in 1905 and studied at the American Academy in Rome in 1906-07. After having worked as an architectural designer (1908-14), he served as Curator of the Museum of the Hispanic Society of America (1914-18). In 1910, he married Mildred Stapley, a writer of New York, who survives. Mr. Byne's works, issued in collaboration with his wife, include the following: *Spanish Ironwork* (1914); *Rejeria of the Spanish Renaissance* (1915); *Spanish Architecture of the Sixteenth Century* (1916); *Decorated Wooden Ceilings in Spain* (1917); *Spanish Interiors and Furniture* (1920-28); *Provincial Houses in Spain* (1924); *Spanish Gardens and Patios* (1924); *Majorcan Houses and Gardens* (1928).—REV. DR. MATTHEW-LOUIS FORTIER, S. J., former Dean of the Fordham University School of Social Science and noted as a translator of French philosophical and religious works, died in New York on May 22 at the age of 66.—EDMUND GARATT GARDNER, for many years Professor of Italian in the Universities of Manchester and London, died in London on July 27 at the age of 66. Among his publications are *The National Idea in Italian Literature*, *Dante*, *The Arthurian Legend in Italian Literature*, *St. Francis and the Birds*, etc.—CHARLES DE KAY, former Literary and Art Editor of the *New York Times* (1876-94) and Art Editor of the *New York Evening Post* (1907) and grandson of the poet, Joseph Rodman Drake, died in New York on May 23 at the age of 86. Among his works are the following: *Life and Works of Barye, Sculptor* (1889); *Bird Gods, Study of Myths and Religions in Ancient Europe* (1898); and translations of works of Alphonse Daudet, Romain Rolland, etc.—OSCAR LOVELL KEITH, Professor and Head of the Department of Romance Languages at the University of South Carolina, died at Columbia, S. C., on March 4. He was born in Greenville, S. C., on Oct. 6, 1882, and was awarded the A.B. degree by the University of Georgia in 1902 and the A.M. degree by Harvard in 1905. After having studied in France and served as student-instructor at Harvard, he became Instructor in Romance Languages at George Washington University (1906-07), Instructor in the University of Georgia (Summer of 1906), and Instructor at the University of Wisconsin (1907-08). In the latter year he was called to the University of South Carolina to succeed the late Prof. Edward S. Joynes. In the words of his colleague, Mr. Fitz-Hugh McMaster, "Prof. Keith was a master teacher, living in the spirit of art and giving to everything he touched a finish and completeness rarely found." He is survived by his widow and a daughter.—A. HEYWOOD KNOWLTON, Professor of Romance Languages at Dartmouth College, was drowned in Lake Mascoma, near Hanover, N. H., on Aug. 9. Born in 1896, he was graduated from Dartmouth in 1917 and took his A.M. degree at Harvard in 1918. Appointed to the Dartmouth Faculty in 1921, he served there until his tragic passing.—DR. EDWIN SEELEYE LEWIS, life-insurance adviser since 1926, died in New York on June 21. Born at Amherst, Mass., on July 23, 1868, he attended the Collège de Genève (1878-83) and received his A.B. and A.M. degrees from Wabash College in 1888 and 1891 respectively. Johns Hopkins awarded him the Ph.D. degree in Romance languages in 1892 and New York

University the LL.B. degree in 1907. He served as Fellow (1890-91) and Assistant (1891-92) in Romance Languages at Johns Hopkins and Instructor (1892-94), Assistant Professor (1894-98) and Professor (1898-1907) of Romance Languages at Princeton. His works include *The Dialect of Guernsey* (1892), his doctoral dissertation, as well as editions of the following class-texts: Verne, *Michel Strogoff* (1893); Dumas, *La Tulipe noire* (1900); and Galdós, *Doña Perfecta* (1903).—ALEXANDER DUNCAN SAVAGE, Paleographer of the Hispanic Society of America from 1915 until his retirement in 1929, died at Bernardsville, N. J., on Aug. 14. He was born at Sumter, Ala., Dec. 1, 1848, and, after having been graduated at the University of Virginia in 1870, he studied at the Universities of Bonn and Leipzig. From 1873 to 1876 he taught in New York schools and was awarded in the latter year an honorary degree by Yale College. After having served as Fellow in Greek at Johns Hopkins (1876-79), he came to New York as Assistant Director of the Metropolitan Museum in charge of classical antiquities, resigning in 1881. He next organized a school for girls, where he taught for several years, and, from 1907 to 1912, he served as Assistant Curator of Fine Arts at the Brooklyn Museum. During the following three years, he was Librarian of the American Numismatic Society, whence he passed to the Hispanic Society as transcriber and editor of medieval MSS. Mr. Savage was unmarried and is survived by a sister and a nephew.—MAURICE BOUET, author, caricaturist and dramatic critic of *La Liberté*, *Candide*, etc., died in Paris late in April. His works include *L'Histoire du Palais-Royal*; two albums of race-track sketches, entitled *Purs Sangs* and *Le Peloton de Tête*; and caricatures of the theatrical world, especially of the comedians, Dorville and Dandy.—RACHEL BOYER, well-known actress of the Comédie-Française at the end of the 19th century, died in Paris on Aug. 11.—LUCIENNE BRÉVAL, noted French lyric *tragédienne*, died in Paris on Aug. 15 at the age of 64. Born in Switzerland, she entered the Paris Conservatory in 1885 and made her débüt at the Grand Opéra in *L'Africaine* (Jan. 20, 1892). She sang about 50 rôles, among which her creations in France were the soprano parts of Wagner's operas as well as of Holmès, *La Montagne noire* (1895), Guiraud, *Frédégonde* (1895), Vidal, *Burgonde* (1898), Massenet, *Grisélidis* (1901), Erlanger, *Fils de l'Etoile* (1904), Dukas, *Ariane et Barbe-Bleue* (1907), Massenet, *Bacchus* (1909) and Bloch, *Macbeth* (1910). In 1900-1901 she visited America and sang Bruennhilde in German in Boston on April 9, 1901.—RENÉ CREVEL, brilliant *surrealiste* and Communist poet, committed suicide in Paris on June 18 at the age of 35. He was suffering from tuberculosis. Besides *Les Sœurs Brontë*, *Filles du Vent*, which he published in collaboration with Mme Marie Laurencin, his works include two volumes of verse, *Détours* and *Les Pieds dans le Plat*; the novels, *La Mort difficile*, *Mon Corps et moi*, *Babylone* and *Etes-vous fou?*; two collections of essays, *Le Clavecin de Diderot* and *L'Esprit contre la Raison*; and studies on the artists, Klee and Salvador Dali.—PAUL DUKAS, composer, famous the world over for his tone poem, *L'Apprenti sorcier*, died in Paris, his native city, on May 17 at the age of 70. Having entered the Conservatoire in 1882, he studied under Mathias, Th. Dubois and Ernest Guiraud and, six years later, won the second Prix de Rome with his cantata, *Velleda*. In 1892 he really became famous through his overture to Corneille's *Polyeucte*, with the result that Saint-Saëns asked him, in 1895, for advice in completing Guiraud's unfinished opera,

*Frédégonde*. His *Ariane et Barbe-Bleue*, a lyric drama inspired by Maeterlinck's fantasy, was first performed at the Opéra-Comique in 1907 and has since been produced in all parts of the musical world. From 1910 to 1912, he was professor of the orchestral class at the Conservatoire and, in 1928, he succeeded Charles Widor as the head of the institution. Others of his works are two overtures, *Le Roi Lear* and *Goetz von Berlichingen*; *La Plainte au loin du Faune*, composed, in 1921, in memory of his friend, Debussy; a *Sonnet de Ronsard*, written for the quartercentenary of the poet; *La Péri, a poème dansé*, first interpreted by the Russian *danseuse*, Trouhanova, at the Opéra; *Symphonie en ut majeur*; and two piano-pieces, a *Sonate* and *Variations sur un thème de Rameau*. For many years he also contributed musical criticisms to *La Revue Hebdomadaire*, *Chronique des Arts*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* and *Le Quotidien*. André Cœuroy made, in *Gringoire* (May 24), the following apt estimate of the two great pre-War composers: "Debussy musique des nerfs, Dukas musique de l'esprit; Debussy musicien de la fantaisie, Dukas musicien de la volonté."—LUCIE FAURE, member of the jury of the *Prix Fémina* and author of various works, of which the most important one is a study on Cardinal Manning, died in Paris early in June. She was the daughter of the former President, Félix Faure, and was married to the philosopher, Goyau. Because of her interest in the mysticism of Mère Mercédès, she was called the "Mme Guyon du XXe siècle."—CARLOS GARDEL, famous Argentine film-star since 1930 and head of the Exito Productions of Astoria, L. I., was killed in a plane crash at Bogotá, Colombia, on June 24. His tangos—especially "My Guitar"—have been played and sung throughout South America for the past 25 years.—GUSTAVE GLOTZ, Professor of Greek History at the Sorbonne and Member of the Institut since 1920, died in Paris on April 24. His most important works are *Le Travail dans la Grèce ancienne* (1920) and *La Civilisation égéenne* (1923), which has been translated into English and Spanish.—FRANTZ JOURDAIN, architect and writer, died in Paris on Aug. 22 at the age of 88. Born at Antwerp, Belgium, the son of Mme Laure Jourdain, poet and novelist, he became the architect of the Paris Expositions of 1889 and 1900, and of the Moscow Exposition of 1891, and was a member of the Jury for Decorative Arts at the Chicago Exposition of 1893. He also designed the Zola monument in the Cimetière Montmartre and founded in 1903 the Autumn Salon, of which he remained President until his death. His writings include *Beaumignon*, *Histoire de l'Habitation* and a one-act play, *Le Gage*, produced at the Théâtre de l'Œuvre in 1901.—MARIE THÉRÈSE KOLB, actress of the Comédie-Française, whose interpretations of Molière rôles were highly esteemed at the turn of the century, died in Paris in July at the age of 79.—HENRI LARDANCHET, a publisher of Lyons, died in May. He found the "Cercle de Sélection", the *Bulletin des Lettres* and the *Bibliothèque du Bibliophile*, in which appeared the definitive edition of Jean Moreas' *Stances*.—THE DUCHESS OF MONTEZUMA, one of the last descendants of the family of Hernando Cortés (1485-1547), died in Madrid on June 18 at the age of 65.—EMILE NOURRY, Parisian bookseller of the Rue des Ecoles, who wrote works on cynegetics and occultism under the pseudonym of Saint-Yves, died in Paris early in May. He served as bibliophilic adviser to Abbé Bremond, Louis Barthou, Fernand Fleuret and Maurice Garçon.—DR. ROBERT PROUST, well-known French surgeon and brother of Marcel Proust, died in Paris on May 29. After the death of the novelist in 1922, he passed a

number of years editing his *A la Recherche du Temps perdu* as well as his *Correspondance*.—PAUL SIGNAC, noted French painter, died in Paris on Aug. 15. He was born in Paris in 1863 and became known in 1882 as a disciple of the impressionistic school of Monet and Guillaumin. Later he originated neo-impressionism, or pointillism, and had, as followers, Seurat, Henri Martin, Auguste Pointilin, the Swede, Fjaestad, and the Italian, Segantini. For many years he was President of the Society of Independent Artists and was a Commander of the Legion of Honor. Several of his canvases are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.—DR. ANDRÉ ANTOINE THOMAS, Professor of Romance Philology at the Sorbonne, died in Paris on May 19 at the age of 78. One of France's greatest authorities on philology, his chief contribution is perhaps the completion of the *Dictionnaire général de la Langue française*, which he undertook after the death of Arsène Darmesteter on Nov. 16, 1888. He began his academic career at Toulouse where he founded in 1887 *Les Annales du Midi*, a famous philosophical and literary review. He passed thence to the Sorbonne as Chargé de Cours, and soon became Directeur d'Etudes at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes and Co-Editor of *Romania*. He also served on the archives commission of the French Government, was Member of the Institut since 1904, Associate Member of the Lincei Academy in Rome and of the Copenhagen Academy of Sciences and an Officer of the Legion of Honor. Inasmuch as a bibliography of his works has recently been published, no attempt will be made to give one here. He was ever an ardent advocate of reformed spelling and succeeded in bringing about official recognition of his suggestions, which he always observed most rigorously. He even went so far as to apply his principles to place-names, having, e. g., on his letter-paper the words, "Sint-Irié", representing the pronunciation of Saint-Yrieix-la-Montagne (Creuse), where he had a country home. M. Thomas will ever be affectionately remembered by his many American pupils, who regarded him as one of the most gifted scholars of his time.—ADRIEN VÉLY, author of the novel, *Saint-Gratien* and of the comedy, *Monsieur Tranquille*, died in Paris early in June. He was formerly a collaborator of the *Matin*, *Excelsior*, *Journal des Débats* and *Candide*, was a member of the Commission des Auteurs and of the Comité de l'Association de la Critique and President of the Syndicat des Echotiers.

LITERATURE, DRAMA AND FILMS—AWARDS OF PRIZES. André Suarès had the unique distinction of winning within the same week two of the most important literary prizes awarded in France, viz., the *Grand Prix de la Société des Gens de Lettres* (10,000 fr.) and the *Grand Prix de Littérature de l'Académie Française* (10,000 fr.). This writer, who is little known to the general public because of the character of his works as well as of his ascetic life, is author of *Le Voyage du Condottiere*, *Vues sur Napoléon*, *Marsibo* (poems), etc. *Grand Prix de Littérature Coloniale*, awarded to Oswald Durand, Colonial Administrator and author of the novels, *Pellobelle*, *gentilhomme soudanais* and *Terre Noire*. *Prix de Littérature Régionaliste* (5,000 fr.), to Jean-Paul Vaillant, of Ardennes, editor of the review, *La Grive*, and author of the novels, *Macajotte* and *L'Enfant livré aux bêtes*, and of the study, *Rimbaud tel qu'il fut*. Former winners of this prize are Pierre Devoluy (Provence), Paul Cazin (Bourgogne), Serge Barranx (Gascogne), Hubert Fillay (Blaisois), Maurice Pottecher (Lorraine), Joseph de Pesquidoux (Armagnac) and Gabriel Nigond (Berry). *Prix de la*

*Fondation Littéraire du Protectorat Tunisien*, divided between Louis Roubaud, author of *Le Voleur et le Sphinx*, *Le Dragon s'éveille*, *Viet-Nam*, *Christiane de Saïgon* (a novel) and, with Gaston Pelletier, *Images et Réalités coloniales* and *Empire ou Colonies*, and Gabriel Audisio, author of the recent *Jeunesse de la Méditerranée*. *Prix Claire-Virenque*, awarded by the Comité de Littérature Spiritualiste, to Mme Jeanne Danemarie's novel, *Frère Jacqueline*. *Prix de Littérature Pyrénéenne* (1,000 fr.), bestowed upon *Montagnes Pyrénées*, a collection of poems by Mme Rosa Baily. *Prix du Roman d'Aventure*, to *La Bête aux sept manteaux*, by Pierre-André Fernic, combined pseudonym of André Ferran, professor in the Lycée of Toulouse, author of the doctoral dissertation, *L'Esthétique de Baudelaire*, and of his pupil, Pierre Daunic. *Prix des Belles Perdrix*, to Mme Beumer-Sauvan, author of *Mon Ame en Sabots* and *La Mystique de la Ferme*. *Grand Prix de la Critique*, to Thierry Maulnier, 25-year-old author of the studies, *Racine et Nietzsche*. *Prix Populiste*, to Henri Troyat's first novel, *Faux-Jour*. *Prix Albert Londres*, to Claude Blanchard, of the *Petit Parisien*. *Prix Peti didier*, for poetry, founded under his real name by the poet who wrote under the pseudonym of Emile Blémont, awarded to François Bernouard, publisher, poet and founder of "Les Amis de 1914." *Prix de la Renaissance* to the novel, *Ecchec au Roi*, by Fernand Fleuret, who also has written the stories and historical novels, *Trois Contes anciens*, *Au Temps du Bien-Aimé*, *Les Derniers Plaisirs*, *Jim Click*; the poems, *Le Cårquois du Sieur Louvigné du Dézert*, *Falourdin*, *Epîtres plaisirantes*; the plays, an adaptation of *La Célestine* and *L'Ecole des Maîtres* (both with Roger Allard), *Fraternité* (with Georges Girard) and *Caravaca, artiste peintre* (with Amadeo Legua); prefaces and introductions, entitled *De Gilles de Rais à Guillaume Apollinaire* and *De Ronsard à Baudelaire*; and, finally, of the bibliography, *L'Enfer de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (with Louis Perceau and Guillaume Apollinaire), *Le Cabinet satyrique* (with Perceau), and *Mémoires secrets d'un Académicien*, under the signature of Prosper Bricole. The two *Prix Gobert* in history, awarded by the Académie to René Grousset, author of several works on the history of Asia, who is now publishing an *Histoire des Croisades* (3 vols.), and by the Institut to Charles Kleincausz, Dean of the Faculty of Lyons, for his *Charlemagne*. Other Prizes of the Académie: *Prix du Roman*, to *La Guêpe*, by Albert Touchard, also author of *La Mort du Loup*, *Le Cuirassé*, "Philanthropie" and *Le Déserteur*; *Paul Flat* (6,000 fr.), divided between Bernard Nabonne's novel, *A la Gasconne*, and Robert Brasillach's critical studies; *Saintour* (3,000 fr.), to Georges Mongrédiens's 7-volume edition of *Tallerman des Réaux's Historiettes*; *Née* (4,500 fr.), to Maurice Brillant's works, especially his *Années d'Apprentissage de Sylvain Brollet*; and *Viter* (3,500 fr.), to Maurice Parturier's edition of *Mérimée's Lettres*.—THE PROGRAM OF THE TERCENTENARY of the Académie Française, held last June, was as follows: "Lundi 17: Messe solennelle à la Chapelle de la Sorbonne, Inauguration de l'Exposition à la Bibliothèque Nationale, Réception à l'Elysée; Mardi 18: Séance au Louvre, salle des Cariatides, Remise des adresses, Représentation dramatique, Dîner suivi de réception à l'Hôtel de Ville; Mercredi 19: Garden party à Chantilly et visite au Musée Condé; Jeudi 20: Séance sous la Coupole, Dîner offert par l'Académie."—THE ACADEMY issued for its tercentenary a volume of 540 pp., in which all of its members collaborated. In a chapter entitled "Visites académiques", Pierre Benoit "ne ménage pas les pointes à M. Paul Claudel", ac-

cording to *Nouvelles Littéraires* (June 22). Other works of interest for the tercentenary are A. Mabille de Poncheville's excellent *Valentin Conrart, le Père de l'Académie Française*, and René Peter, *La Vie secrète de l'Académie Française*.—THE OLDEST ACADEMY represented at the tercentenary was that of Portugal which dates from 1290.—PAUL BOURGET AND MARCEL PRÉVOST were awarded the two Grand Crosses of the Legion of Honor, placed by the French Senate at the disposal of the Academy. Other members already honored with the same rank include Bergson, Pétain, Weygand and Franchet d'Esperey.—THE ACADEMY has postponed awarding the *Prix Brieux* (30,000 fr.) until 1936 on account of the inferior quality of the plays submitted.—FIGARO's competition, "en vue de désigner quarante 'vrais Immortels' réellement dignes de cette épithète traditionnelle" since the founding of the Academy, resulted in that only three of the living members were deemed worthy of that honor, viz., Bourget, Pétain and Bergson. But, as F. Vandérem remarked in *Candide* (June 27), the 6,000 voters represented only "les voix de la clientèle élégante", whereas if some more popular journal should invite its readers to vote, the results would no doubt be very different.—CLÉMENT VAUTEL says, in *Gringoire* (May 24), that the *Affaire Claude-Claudel* gives no indication of subsidizing. A group of writers labeled the defeat of the ambassador-poet as "le plus grand scandale du siècle"; then Giraudoux fulminated against the Coupole, and Henry Bidou, in the *Revue de Paris*, satirized "le petit personnel de *La Revue des Deux-Mondes*"; whereas an Academician, believed to have voted against Claudel, stated, in regard to the more than 50 anonymous letters "d'injures, de menaces" that he had received: "Vraiment, pour plaider, même à leur façon, la cause d'un ambassadeur, ces exécrés devraient bien user de formules plus diplomatiques!" Finally, Claudel, himself, "a d'ailleurs prononcé des paroles amères. . . . On s'attendait à ce que l'auteur de *L'Annonce faite à Marie* montrât plus de résignation chrétienne." These words refer, doubtless, to the following letter written by the poet to Jean Milo of *L'Intransigeant*: "Vous pouvez dire nettement que je ne me présenterai plus. L'Académie répond à une sorte d'instinct collectif. Elle a compris que ce n'était pas ma place. Je le comprends aussi. Une chose me peine. Je suis fonctionnaire et, comme tel, j'ai le respect de nos institutions. J'ai reçu des lettres du monde entier, et il en ressort que cela n'a pas augmenté la réputation de l'Académie. Je puis bien vous dire ça. Je ne m'y présenterai plus jamais." In this regard it may be recalled that on May 19, 1864, Jules Janin, who had just been rejected by the Academicians, wrote as follows to Hugo: "Ils sont chez eux. Ils détestent les écrivains d'une haine parfaite."—THE GREAT POPULAR DEMONSTRATION in honor of Victor Hugo, organized by the Comité National for June 16 and then postponed, at the request of civil authorities, until June 29, was finally forbidden by the Government. The fact that the official fêtes in France in honor of the poet were rather a dismal failure whereas those organized in foreign countries were most successful leads F. Vandérem (*Candide*, July 11) to draw the following lesson for future anniversaries of celebrated writers: "Laissons-en à l'étranger le soin comme les frais."—FERNAND VANDÉREM regrets, in *Candide* (June 13), that the Hugo celebration brought forth only one original poem—a sonnet by Edmond de Haraucourt. "Or", he adds, "si l'on met en face de ces quatorze alexandrins les 127,974 vers (chiffre homologué) produits par Hugo, on conviendra que la proportion n'y est pas et que, même sans se fouler, nos poètes

euvent pu y aller plus largement." He, therefore, calls upon Paul Valéry to compose a poem, notwithstanding the fact that the name of Hugo "soit aussi pénible à ses lèvres" as that of Anatole France.—THE HUGO ANNIVERSARY recalled the fact that the poet was defeated three times in his candidacy for the Academy (by Dupaty (1836), Molé and Flourens) before he was elected in 1841.—JULES BERTAUT notes, in *Candide* (June 6) that Edmond Biré's unjustly forgotten work, *L'Année 1817*, reveals that Hugo's chapter of the same title in *Les Misérables* is filled with anachronisms and factual errors.—HUGO's famous expression *Jocrisse à Patmos*, which has also been attributed to Louis Veuillot as well as to Pontmartin, is shown, in a recent article in *Etudes* by Alphonse de Parvillez, to have been originated by Théophile Gautier. Not only Pontmartin but also Taine, in a letter to Gaston Paris, dated June 28, 1879, "confirme", says Cacambo in *Candide* (May 2), "que Gautier employait cette expression."—LÉON DAUDET published, in *Candide* (July 4), a splendid review, replete with data communicated to him personally by various members of the Hugo family, of Jean Bonnerot's edition of Sainte-Beuve, *Correspondance générale tome I.*—JEANNE D'ARC, according to *Nouvelles Littéraires* (May 25), left only 6 letters, which, though dictated, were signed by her. Three addressed to the "Habitants de Reims" (Aug. 6, 1429, and Mch. 16 and 28, 1430) are in the possession of the Maleyssie family; one to the "Habitants de Tournai" is in the library of that city; a 5th is in the Municipal Archives of Riom; and a 6th, sent to the Duke of Burgundy, is in the Departmental Archives of the Nord.—MONTAIGNE, says *Nouvelles Littéraires* (July 20), "demeure, par excellence, 'la mine aux citations'", for, in the "débauche d'éloquence" at the distribution of prizes in French schools during the Summer, "on a pu remarquer que tous les orateurs ont plus ou moins longuement cité Montaigne" . . . while Hugo was "quasiment oublié." To that may be added the fact that a widely known stock-manipulator had at her bedside, at the time of her death, a much-used copy of the *Essais*, which led critics to wonder whether she had acquired therein her knowledge of dubious financial schemes.—DR. PAUL RIVET published, in *Marianne* (June 29), a very interesting article, entitled, "Le Tricentenaire du Muséum", in which he traced the history of the famous museum, giving special attention to Buffon and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre.—THE CENTENARY of the death of Elisa Mercœur, Romantic poet, who passed away at the age of 25, was observed at Nantes on May 12, when a plate was set up, marking the location of the house in which she died.—LA SOCIÉTÉ ALFRED DE MUSSET (formerly Société Musettistes) held during May an exposition in the poet's former home (59, rue de Grenelle) to commemorate the centenary of the *Nuit de Mai*.—A BUST OF STENDHAL, by Maraini, Director of Fine Arts in Italy, was unveiled in La Scala of Milan on May 14 last by La Société des Amis de la Langue Française. The principal speakers were Senator Ettore Conti, representing Italy, and Paul Hazard, representing France, whose address was published in *Nouvelles Littéraires* (June 22). The latest addition to Stendhaliana is a study by Alain.—THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY of Zola's *Germinale*, which is being celebrated this year, recalled that Maurice Talmeyr's *Le Grisou* (1880) was the first French novel to relate the life of miners. It dealt with the catastrophe of Agrappe (1879), near Marchienne-en-Pont (Pont-sur-Sambre in the novel) in Belgium.—THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY of the reception of Ferdinand de Lesseps by the Académie Française

was noted this Summer. His "parrains" were Hugo and Edouard Pailleron, and the "discours de réception" was delivered by Renan, who remarked that the Academy would gladly elect unanimously a general, who would return to France Alsace-Lorraine, "sans le chicaner sur ses titres littéraires."—A BUST OF LÉON DEUBEL, the poet, was erected, on July 21, on the spot where, on June 17, 1913, at the age of 33, he threw himself into the Seine.—LOUIS CODET, author of *César Capéran*, *La Petite Chiquette*, etc., who was born at Perpignan, Oct. 8, 1876, and died of wounds in Belgium, Dec. 27, 1914, was the subject of commemorative exercises at his birthplace early in May.—PAUL DROUOT, the poet, who fell at the age of 30 in Artois on June 9, 1915, was remembered on the 20th anniversary of his death by a mass in Saint-Sulpice, said at the request of Jean-Louis Vaudoyer.—GUILLAUME APOLLINAIRE (pseudonym of Wilhelm Apollinaris Kostrowsky), author of the poems, *Alcools*, who was wounded in February, 1916, and who died on Nov. 9, 1918, at the age of 38, was the subject, on June 23, of two Belgian commemorative services, one at Stavelot, where he lived for a while, and the other at Malmédy, where a monument was erected to him. A collection of his War-letters to Jean Mollet was sold at the Hôtel Drouot on May 15 last for 4,553 fr.—THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY of the passing of Pierre Louÿs was commemorated last Summer. It was recalled that he began his literary career by publishing (Mch. 1, 1891) *La Conque*, a small literary review issued at 100 copies, on which his collaborators were André Gide, Paul Valéry and Henri de Régnier, and, also, that he discovered Claude Farrère, whom he called "un Mérimée marin", by recommending in 1905 his *Les Civilisés* for the *Prix Goncourt*.—A BUST OF GEORGES COURTELIN (d. June 21, 1929), carved by the sculptor, Benneteau, was unveiled in Picpus Square, Paris, on June 29 by the Académie Goncourt.—THE FIRST TWO VOLUMES of the *Journal des Goncourt*, republished during the Summer, brought forth many criticisms, both *pro* and *contra*, regarding the policy adopted by the editors. On one point, however, all are in agreement, and that is that the Goncourts possessed an uncanny prescience regarding what was to come after them. This may be seen in their analysis of decadent art, in their prophecy, after having read Poe, of the development of the detective-novel, as well as in the following passage on the drama, in which, as André Billy says (*Gringoire*, July 5), "beaucoup de nos contemporains se reconnaîtront": "Nous n'allons qu'à un théâtre. Tous les autres nous ennuient et nous agacent. Il y a un certain rire du public à ce qui est vulgaire, bas et bête, qui nous dégoûte. Le théâtre où nous allons est le Cirque."—EUGÈNE MARSAN published in *Nous*, *Les Latins*, during the Summer, "un remarquable article", according to *Candide* (July 11), "sur les origines lointaines du Père Ubu", a character created by "des potaches au lycée de Rennes", about 1888, "bien avant l'arrivée d'Alfred Jarry, qui sut le fixer." That Ubu is still very much alive may be seen in the fact that there was founded in Paris on June 29 last "un hebdomadaire satirique et féroce", entitled *Le Père Ubu*.—IBSEN, whose plays have exerted a powerful influence on French drama since 1900, was first produced in France on May 30, 1890.—LÉON DAUDET, according to F. Vandérem (*Candide*, June 27), "s'étonne du peu de place qu'occupe, dans le roman nouveau, la société issue de la guerre, avec ses bouleversements, ses drames, son incomparable grouillement de types tragiques ou pittoresques." This phenomenon, the above critic states, "tient moins, chez nos

jeunes auteurs, au manque de talent qu'à l'éloignement absolu où la plupart viennent du mouvement de notre époque." And a striking indication of this state of mind was that, in the recent Congress of International Writers, the two speakers "les plus écoutés" were André Gide and Julien Benda, "deux romanciers dont visiblement les notions sur notre société en sont demeurées aux temps reculés du symbolisme et de la *Revue Blanche*."—FRANZ HELLENS, the well-known Belgian writer, was widely discussed in France in June as a consequence of the publication of four of his works, *viz.*, *Frédéric*, *Souvenirs d'enfance*; *Documents secrets (1905-1931)*; and two short novels, *Le Mort dans l'Ame* and *Au Repos de la Santé*.—MARCEL PRÉVOST takes occasion, in a review of Jean de Witt's *Chasses de Brière* (*Gringoire*, June 28), to praise the genius of Alphonse de Châteaubriant, whose first novel, *Monsieur des Lourdinnes*, published before the War, won the Goncourt prize; whose second, *La Brière*, won the first *Grand Prix du Roman* in 1923; and whose third, *La Réponse du Seigneur*, appeared recently. And a fourth, *La Mente*, is "le livre promis."—PIERRE BONARDI, in an excellent review of Roger Vercel's edition of Carco's *Pages Choisies*, entitled "Francis Carco, ou l'Edgar Poe du réel" (*Gringoire*, June 21), gives the following succinct estimate of him: "Carco est, à cette heure, le grand maître des demi-teintes dans les sous-bois, les cités et les consciences. Tout ce qui est crépusculaire, estompé, sous-jacent s'illumine à ses yeux."—A NEW MONTHLY REVIEW, *Le Rond-Point des Lettres et des Arts*, published by the Club Montaigne, made its appearance in July.—L'ACADEMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS appointed in July a committee of four members to continue the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, of which the 37th volume has been published.—"LA COMMISSION FRANCE-AMÉRIQUE" recommends the following books in its Summer lists: *May*, Charles de La Roncière et G. Clerc Rampal, *Histoire de la Marine française*, A. M. de Poncheville, *Valentin Courart*, Lesage, *Gil Blas*, éd. par Auguste-Dupouy (2 vols.), F. Le Gentil, *La Littérature portugaise*, and Abel and Marguerite Chevalley, *The Concise Oxford French Dictionary*; *June*, Octave Aubry, *Sainte Hélène* (2 vols.), P. Villey, *Montaigne devant la Postérité*, Anatole Riavoallan, *L'Irlande*, and Jérôme et Jean Tharaud, *Vienne la Rouge*; *July*, Wm. Prescott, *Les Incas et la Conquête du Pérou, 1524-1550*, adapté par A. de Bosque et J. de La Noue, Pierre Benoit, *Boissière* (roman), Thierry-Maulnier, *Racine*, H. Capitant, *Vocabulaire juridique*, and Lt. Cel. Henri Carré, *Gabrielle d'Estrée, presque Reine*; *August*, Charmot, *L'Humanisme et l'Humain*, Henry Bordeaux, *Les Trois Confesseurs* (nouvelles), Albert Touchard, *La Guépe*, Bernard Berenson, *Les Peintres italiens de la Renaissance*, Marcel Thiébault, *Evasions littéraires* (critique), and Jean Hanoteau, *Joséphine avant Napoléon: Le Ménage Beauharnais*.—FIGARO'S ENQUÊTE on the Comédie-Française, among dramatists whose plays have never been produced there, resulted in some very curious suggestions by Stève Passeur, Giraudoux and Bacqué. In reply to the defenders of the Comédie, Henry Bernstein and Henry Kistemaekers, the actor Yonnel wrote: "S'il existe un complot pour réintégrer à la Comédie-Française la grandeur et la beauté, j'en suis!"—THE THEATRICAL CRISIS has led many French actors to turn to the radio. However, the failure of Jean Worms in *Suzanne* and Sita Malard's *Bellini* has revealed, according to Pierre Descaves in *Nouvelles Littéraires* (Apr. 25), that "des artistes infinitimement estimables sur les planches" are often far from achieving on the radio the skill of specialists like Georges Colin or Paul Castan.—

J. LUCAS-DUBRETON published in *Candide* throughout the Summer his interesting *récit historique*, entitled "La Prodigieuse Carrière de Rachel, Reine du Théâtre français."—EDOUARD BOURDET, in view of the fact that the Conservatoire failed to award this year first prizes either in tragedy or comedy, consoles young artists by noting in *Marianne* (July 10) the following who were also considered unworthy of that honor: Mounet-Sully (tragedy, 1868), Mme Bartet (1872), Mme Sarah-Bernhardt, Mme Réjane (1874), Lugné-Poë and Baron (1892), and, more recently, Charles Boyer and Pierre Blanchar (1921). On the other hand, Lucien Dubech asks (*Candide*, July 11): "Comment aurait-on de bons élèves au Conservatoire quand tout le monde mesure à quel voisinage du néant est tombée la troupe tragique de la Comédie-Française?"—HENRY TORRÈS, in his review of the past theatrical season (*Gringoire*, July 26), does not mince his words, as the following quotation shows: "S'il me fallait citer impartiallement la plus mauvaise pièce de l'année, des titres par dizaines s'offriraient, hélas! à mes scrupules... inéptie du sujet, vanité des personnages, faiblesse de l'intrigue, lâcheté de l'écriture, elles affirmaient avec un mépris serein de toute ambition artistique une naïve méconnaissance du métier dramatique le plus élémentaire, celui que les enfants exigent des montreurs de marionnettes." Lucien Dubech adds, to the above survey, the observation (*Candide*, July 18) that, from the financial point of view, "l'année a été désastreuse."—MICHEL DURAN, writing in *Marianne* (July 24), one of France's best weeklies, observes: "Les Américains, en matière de cinéma, restent nos maîtres." This is likewise the opinion of the editor of the same journal, Emmanuel Berl, who, in a leading article on American films, wrote: "The strangest thing is that all the qualities which one suffers at not finding in French films — lightness, vivacity, grace, gentle humor, finesse—are present in this season's films from Hollywood... The velocity of the rhythm, the delicacy of the smile—all that has become American."—PLAYS PRODUCED RECENTLY IN PARIS include the following: Georges Berr and Louis Verneuil's *L'Homme au Foulard bleu*, which is their earlier *Guignol*, revised and refurbished; Paul Nivoix's *La Mariée éperdue*, which, according to Philip Carr (N. Y. *Times*, May 26) "only adds another example of a bad play to the deplorable series which we have been given lately"; Jean de Létraz's *Bichon*, called "un vrai vaudeville" by Henry Torrès, (*Gringoire*, May 17); Antoine Artaud's *Les Cenci*, based upon the versions of Shelley and Stendhal, wherein the author aims to create a *théâtre cruel*; René Pujol's *Une Nuit*, another "trivial and indifferent play"; *Grisou*, "a rather sombre drama of love and jealousy", by Pierre Brasseur, the actor, who played one of the chief parts; young André Ransan's *Les Jeux du Mystère et de la Mort*, dramatized from a story by Armand Salacrou, "an effectively constructed and well-written tale of mental torture and terror", inspired by E. A. Poe; Stève Passeur's *Je vivrai un grand amour*, a study of renunciation in love, called "the most important dramatic work" of the year; and *Le Vray Mystère de la Passion*, adapted from Arnoul Gréban's mystery, a grandiose and moving spectacle played in the Parvis Notre-Dame before 11,000 spectators.—FOREIGN PLAYS AND FILMS, produced in New York during the past quarter, include the following, with dates of presentation: May 3, the film *The Devil Is a Woman*, adapted from Pierre Louys' story, *La Femme et le Pantin*, "a mocking assault upon the romantic sex-motif", well acted by Marlene Dietrich and ably directed by Josef von Sternberg; May

5, the Mexican film, *El pulpo humano*, an old-fashioned mystery-melodrama in a modern Mexican setting; *May 10*, the French film, *Les As du Turf*, a farce that "drags heavily at times", notwithstanding the capable acting of Pauley; *May 13*, the Spanish film, *Mercedes*, an old-fashioned romance, flavored with good singing by Carmelita Aubert and Hector Morel, which is "better done technically than previous arrivals from the Peninsula"; *May 20*, the Barcelona film, *Se ha fugado un preso*, a merry burlesque of sentimental melodramatic scenarios, of which the photography and sound production "leave much to be desired"; *May 27*, the Barcelona film, *Boliche*, a tiresome comedy-romance of Argentine and Spanish cabarets, well acted by Rafael Arcos; *June 3*, the French film, *Sans Famille*, adapted from Hector Malot's popular novel of the 1870s, "a well-directed and excellently photographed film", marked by the splendid acting and singing of Vanni Marcoux, as well as by the art of the child-actor, Robert Lynen; *June 4*, the Barcelona film, *Susana tiene un secreto*, another of Benito Perojo's burlesques on Spanish sentimental films, taking its theme from Bellini's opera *La Sonambula* and efficiently acted by Rosita Diaz and Ricardo Nuñez; *June 7*, Franco Lalli's rollicking farce, *Signori, il figlio è nato*, splendidly acted by Mimi Aguglia, who made her American débüt in 1908; *June 9*, the Mexican film, *Tribu*, recounting the submission of a Southern Mexican tribe of Indians to the yoke of the *conquistadores*, well acted and directed by Miguel Contreras Torres and in which the Zapoteco language is also used; *June 14*, the Spanish film, *Una semana de felicidad*, a routine comedy-romance, of which the one redeeming feature is the acting of Raquel Rodrigo; *June 21*, the French film, *Criez-le sur les toits*, a free adaptation of Roi Cooper Megrue's farce, *It Pays to Advertise*, well acted by Pauley; *June 23*, the Barcelona film, *Odio*, an old-fashioned melodrama, with the usual Spanish technical faults, featuring María Ladron de Guevara, Pedro Terol and Raquel Rodrigo; *June 28*, the Italian film, *L'eredità dello zio... Buonanima*, a slap-stick comedy-romance, ably acted by the Sicilian artist, Angelo Musco; *June 30*, the French film, *L'Ordonnance*, based upon Maupassant's story, excellently acted by Marcelle Chantal and "several of the best cinema artists in France"; *July 1*, the Argentine film, *Idolos de la radio*, an old-fashioned sentimental romance, presenting radio artists in action; *July 5*, the Paramount Spanish film, *Tango-Bar*, a fairly entertaining musical romance, featuring the late Carlos Gardel; *July 11*, André de Lorde's *The Old Women*, a Grand Guignol Horror Play of gruesome integrity; *July 17*, Perojo's film, *El hombre que se reía del amor*, a banal Don Juan romance, redeemed by the acting of Rosita Diaz; *July 29*, the Italian film, *Il delitto di Mastrovanni*, a romantic melodrama, well-photographed, and featuring Irma Grammatica; *Aug. 2*, the Barcelona film, *Vidas rotas*, a rather poor melodrama, featuring Lupita Tovar and Maruchi Fresno.

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY—THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART received, on July 13, as a gift four valuable Tournai tapestries of the early 16th century, depicting the life of Hercules. At the same time the Museum announced the purchase, for \$11,000 each, of two Gobelin tapestries, "Septembre: La Chasse au Sanglier" and "Avril: La Chasse au Faucon", woven in the late 17th century after a series designed by Bernard van Orley, and first executed on the looms about 1530-35 at Brussels. The other three scenes, "Février", "Mars" and "Août" are owned by the French Government.—THE MUSEUM OF MODERN

ART announced on May 25 the donation by Mrs. J. D. Rockefeller, Jr. of her collection of 181 paintings, water-colors and drawings, the work of 71 American and foreign artists. French artists represented in the gift are Pierre Bonnard, Marc Chagall, André Derain, Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, Henri Matisse, Jacques Mauny, A. Modigliani, Pablo Picasso, Juan Gris, Max Jacob, Albert Marquet, Odilon Redon, Georges Rouault, Pierre Roy, and Paul Signac.—FOUR of the ten valuable paintings, stolen from the Brooklyn Museum on Apr. 29, 1933, were returned on June 13 last. Two of the four were Jean Fouquet's "Portrait of Louis XI" and François Clouet's "Portrait of Louis de Nevers."—THE TOLEDO, O., MUSEUM OF ART received recently Renoir's "The Green Jardinière", as a gift from its founder.—ST. JOHN'S CHURCH (Clinton, Mass.) announced recently the discovery in its Presbytery of a painting of "St. John, the Evangelist", done by the French artist, F. Collin (ca. 1750), after the Domenichino masterpiece of 1640.—S. H. KRESS purchased recently from C. H. Mackay, for \$250,000, Duccio's "The Calling of St. Peter and St. Andrew", which originally was one of four paintings forming the great altarpiece completed in 1311 for the Siena Cathedral.—PAINTINGS sold at Ophir Hall (Purchase, N. Y.) on May 17 included the following: Hubert Drouais (the elder), "Portrait of a Lady", \$3,200; C. Van Loo, "Le Chevalier Louis Eusèbe de Montour", \$2,500; Antonio Canale (Canaletto), "Santa Maria della Salute", \$1,300; Jean-Baptiste Oudry, "Nature Morte, I et II", \$1,025 each; Nicolas Lancret, "Conversation Galante", \$1,100 and "Le Printemps", \$1,000; Louis Tocque, "Mme de Grafigny", \$1,300; and Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer, "Vase de Fleurs", \$1,100.—THE J. P. MORGAN COLLECTION OF MINIATURES, which was sold in London on June 23-27, included more than 120 by Jacques Augustin (1759-1832), ten by Clouet, and others by Isabey, Nattier, Sicardi, Largillière, Prudhon, Dumont, Fragonard, Watteau and Boucher.—THE EXHIBITIONS OF ITALIAN ART, held in Paris during the Summer, were characterized as "probably the largest significant collection of Italian art ever available in one place." That of the Petit Palais, extending from Cimabue to Tiepolo, which closed on July 21 and which attracted more than 650,000 visitors, contained 240 drawings, 150 engravings, 110 pieces of sculpture, 300 curiosities, 100 tapestries and 490 pictures carefully selected by a council of experts. The Jeu de Paume exhibition, from Apiani to De Pisis, consisted of 300 paintings, drawings and pieces of sculpture by artists of the 19th and 20th centuries.—THE PARIS FACULTY OF MEDICINE held, during the Summer, an exposition of works of art in its possession, principally works of the Gilbert legacy. Not only did it contain portraits of famous French physicians from Guy Patin to Bichat by equally famous artists, such as Houdon, Rigaud, Lebrun, Pigalle, etc., but also rare books, valuable engravings, as well as Primitives. "On ne savait pas la Faculté si riche", says *Nouvelles Littéraires* (June 8).—LA SOCIÉTÉ DES AMIS DE TOULOUSE-LAUTREC was formed in Paris in June by Dunoyer de Segonzac, Tristan Bernard, Francis Carco, Henri Duvernois, Roland Dorgelès, Romain Coolus, J.-G. Lemoine, Yvette Guilbert and others.—THE TERCENTENARY EXHIBITION OF THE ACADEMY included the "Voltaire nu", by Pigalle, which, when completed in 1776, shocked Mme Necker and brought forth such a storm of criticisms and epigrams that the sculptor did not dare send it to the Salon.—LE PRIX PAUL-GUILLAUME (10,000 fr.), founded in July, was awarded for the first time to M. Aujame, a 30-year-old artist.—THE CATHE-

DRALS OF FRANCE were described in the following valuable works issued recently: Dom Lucien David, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Wandrille*, illustrations par Pierre Matossy; John Charpentier, *Les Grands Templiers, Chronique de la Cathédrale de Chartres au XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*; Louis Gillet, *Cathédrales*; Paul Courteault, *La Cathédrale de Bordeaux*; and Marcel Aubert, *L'Abbaye des Vaux de Cernay*.—M. BAUDET, Departmental Archivist of Eure, discovered recently at Vieil-Evreux a Gallo-Roman treasure, consisting of gold rings, necklaces, bracelets, coins, etc.—PARIS ART-SALES. Highest prices paid during the past quarter include the following: *April*, Goya, "Le Colosse", épreuve d'essai, 27,100 fr., and "Taureaux de Bordeaux", four lithographs, 24,300 fr.; Gauguin, "Le Mas, environs d'Arles", 20,500 fr.; *May*, Five 17th-century Beauvais tapestries, 132,100 fr.; Renoir, "La Femme au chapeau jaune", 20,000 fr.; Gauguin, "Paysannes broyant du chanvre", 25,000 fr.; Gabriel de Saint-Aubin, "Laban cherchant ses dieux", 30,000 fr.; Nattier, "Portrait présumé de Lavoisier", 100,000 fr.; David, "Portrait de Mme Séziziat", 86,000 fr.; Fragonard, "Les Crêpes", sépia, 25,100 fr.; Perronneau, "Portrait présumé de Nicolas Luckner", pastel, 28,000 fr.; Boilly, "La Jeune Mère", 22,500 fr.; *June*, Franz Hals, "Les Petits Chanteurs", 630,000 fr.; Guardi, "L'Arc ogival" and "L'Arc roman", 118,000 fr.; Debucourt, "Les Deux Baisers", engraving, 46,000 fr.; Cézanne, "Entrée du Jas de Bouffan", 201,500 fr.; Manet, "La Jeune Fille dans les fleurs", 130,000 fr.; Guardi, two "Paysages maritimes", 75,000 fr.; Corot, "Le Pâtre au bord des marais", 55,000 fr.; "La Charrette", 76,000 fr.; "Vieille fileuse", 75,000 fr., and "La Vigneronne de Montreux", 39,100 fr.; Renoir, "La Plage de Pornic", 50,000 fr.; Corot, "La Bohémienne à la mandoline", 65,000 fr.; Degas, "Femme à son lever", pastel, 22,000 fr.; Pissarro, "Fonds de l'hermitage", 23,100 fr.; Renoir, "Baigneuses" and "Le Repos de la Baigneuse", 35,000 and 40,000 respectively; etc.—ART EXHIBITIONS held in New York during the past quarter include the following, with opening-dates: *May 1*, Bronzes and Drawings by Degas; Etchings and Lithographs by Forain; *May 7*, Famous Women of French History, at the Maison Française, Rockefeller Center, consisting of material, covering 15 centuries, loaned mainly by French museums; *May 10*, Paintings and Crayons by the Spanish artist, Eduardo Benito; *June 4*, Canvases of Normandy by Boudin; Summer Exhibition of the Museum of Modern Art, including many works by contemporary French artists; *June 10*, Paintings by Old Masters; *June 23*, Polychrome Wood-Carvings by the Nicaraguan artist, Roberto de la Silva; *June 24*, French Paintings of the 19th and 20th Centuries; *June 28*, European and American Paintings, the former including Boudin, Th. Rousseau, L'Hermitte, Dupré, Corot, etc.; *July 20*, 400 Fine Prints of Two Centuries, including 21 French artists and 2 Spanish; *Aug. 1*, From Ingres to Surrealism.

MUSIC, OPERA, BALLET AND DISKS—MEXICO'S NATIONAL CONSERVATORY OF MUSIC, of which Carlos Chavez is Director, published recently a large volume on Aztec percussion-instruments, by Daniel Casteneda, chief of the Academy of Mexican Music, and Vicente T. Mendoza, professor of the Conservatory, as well as a smaller, preliminary work on Aztec wind-instruments. The Orquesta Mexicana gave on July 19 a concert of Aztec music, which Chavez characterizes as follows: "It was a very strong music—imperative—contemplative at times, but not romantic and never plaintive. It was music characteristic of a stoic, combative race."—THE ORQUESTA SINFÓNICA DE MEXICO opened

in July its eighth Summer Season, consisting of 22 concerts, with two works by the Mexican, Manuel M. Ponce, widely known as the composer of the popular *Estrellita*. Since regionalism, which, in music as in art, finds its inspiration in the purely Indian origins of Mexico, is making great headway, native composers, such as Chavez, Dominguez, Huizav, Revueltas, Rolon, Villanueva and others, figure largely in the programs.—MADRID'S THREE LEADING ORCHESTRAS, Sinfónica, Filarmónica and Clásica, directed respectively by Enrique F. Arbós, Bartolomé Pérez Casas and José M. Franco, had an unusually successful season in 1935. Among the novelties played were the exquisite *Zarabanda lejana* and *Villancico*, by Joaquín Rodrigo, the blind young composer from Valencia; selections from the *Liturgia negra*, by Pedro Sanjuán, conductor-composer of Havana, Cuba; Joaquin Turina's tribute to his home city, *Canto a Sevilla*; suites from the opera, *Voces de Gesta*, composed by Acacio Cotapos (b. Valdivia, Chile) on Valle-Inclan's pastoral tragedy; *Variaciones sobre un tema vasco*, by Pablo Sorozábal, the Basque composer; *Alfeo i Aretusa*, by the Catalan, Josep Barberà; *Tres Movimientos concertantes*, by Salvador Bacarisse, the *enfant terrible* of the young Madrid group; *Meditación de Sigüenza* by Rafael Rodríguez Albert (also a blind Valencian composer), which was inspired by a novel of Gabriel Miró; *Levantinas*, a regional work by the Valencian, José Moreno Gans; *Segunda Suite portuguesa*, by Luis de Freitas Branco, conductor-composer of Lisbon; and Enrique Gomá's piano concerto, dedicated to Leopoldo Querol, who, after Iturbi, is Spain's greatest pianist.—BARCELONA'S LLIGA D'ASSOCIA-  
CIONS DE MÚSICA DE CATALUNYA has been carrying on excellent educational work, especially through its branches, the Associació de Música de Càmera, now in its 23rd year, the Orfeó Català, an important choral society, and the Orquesta Pau Casals. The latter gave last season a novelty in the form of two preludes by the Catalan composer, Amadeu Cuscó, which, with a third, formed a score that won a national contest in Madrid in 1930.—EMILE VUILLERMOZ published, in *Candide* (June 20), a very interesting article on the Portuguese folk-songs, *fados*, in which he finds the same "ton poignant et tendre, le même accent et la même couleur" as in the Negro *Spirituals*.—ITALY'S RASSEGNA NAZIONALE, or National Review of Contemporary Music, held every two years in Rome by the National Fascist Musicians Syndicate, under the guidance of Chairman Giuseppe Mulè and a jury composed of Respighi, Molinari, Casella and Tommasini, has three paramount functions: 1) to foster new talent; 2) to form a bond between the new forces and the older generation of moderns; and 3) to give contests for young interpreters and ensembles. Seven such concerts were given this Summer, presenting works of some 44 composers, both old and young.—L'ISPETTORATO DEL TEATRO, or The Theatrical Inspectorate, has been created by the Italian Government for the purpose of regulating and "regenerating" drama, opera, concert, cinema and radio. Nicolà De Pirro is its Director, while Mario Labroca has become chief of its operatic section. Its first steps have been to limit to ten the number of stock-companies permitted to play in Italy this Winter, thereby reducing competition and aiding the chronic "theatrical crisis", and to reduce the fees paid to "stars" as well as to cut admission prices. At the same time successful youngsters of modest claims are to be pushed.—VERONA'S OPEN-AIR OPERA, which was inaugurated in 1913 to commemorate the centenary of Verdi's birth, held its 23rd successful season on July 25-Aug. 18

last, when Bellini's centenary was observed. The programs are given in the well-preserved Roman arena, having seating accommodations for 25,000 persons and a stage nearly 400-feet long, which permits of grandiose staging and mass effects.—THE SAN REMO CHAMBER BALLETs, under the direction of Anita Colombo and Walter Toscanini (son of the Maestro), have been seeking, says R. Hall (*New York Times*), "to break with the rancid ballet tradition of the past century, as well as with the old scenography" and have, consequently, been giving works not only of the older Italian moderns (Pizzetti, Respighi, Alfano, Pick-Mangiagalli, Santoliquido and Toni), but also of the younger generation, *viz.*, Veretti, G. Cesare Sonzogno (b. Milan, 1906), Renzo Bossi (b. Como, 1883), Vincenza Davico (b. Monaco, 1889), Virgilio Mortari, Sandro Levignani, Renzo Rossellini (b. Rome, 1908), Mario Salerno, Gianandrea Gavazzini and Ettore Zapparoli.—A THREE-ACT BURLESQUE OPERA, *La Vigna*, music by Guido Guerrini (b. Faenza, 1890), Director of the Florence Conservatory, was given its première at the Rome Royal Opera on April 29. The book, by the composer and by Alfredo Testoni after a story from the *Cene* of Antonio Giulio Grazzini (surnamed "Il Lasca"), relates a series of *beffe*, or practical jokes, played at the expense of an old rake in 16th-century Florence. The work was characterized by R. Hall (*N. Y. Times*, May 12) as "the conscientious but untheatrical job of an academic musician, lacking in any well-defined personality." On the same program was Carmine Guarino's ballet novelty, *Balilla*, a choreographic action in six scenes by Giuseppe Adami, based on the historic youngster of Genoa who flung a stone that started a revolt and ousted the invaders, after which he was apotheosized as the hero-model of Fascism's Boy Scouts.—ILDEBRANDO PIZZETTI's three-act music drama, *Orséolo*, the only operatic novelty of the Florentine May Festival, was composed with the aim of interpreting his creed, which is that "opera must be strictly music drama in the raw, with each passing word or phrase sovereign, while lyricism is necessarily antagonistic or digressive to the drama and must be banished." Unfortunately, the result, notwithstanding many sporadic beauties, must be rated, according to R. Hall (*N. Y. Times*, May 30), "a cerebral and jejune *problem-opera*."—THE FLORENTINE MUSICAL MAY OF 1935 was, in the opinion of critics, one of the greatest musical events ever held. Its chief feature was Rino Alessi's three-act "dramatic action", *Savonarola*, mounted by Jacques Copeau and with musical commentary by Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco. This very impressive spectacle, which had been reduced, at Mussolini's suggestion, from Alessi's play of the same name, contained, besides its principal characters, a chorus and some 1,500 supers. Though the music lacked mystic fervor, the American soprano, Franca Savigli, sang it with finish. Other important parts of the Maggio program included an exceptional mounting of Glück's opera, *Alceste*, revised by Vittorio Gui from the Brussels and Paris editions and presented in the beautiful Boboli Gardens; the presentation of Rameau's "tragédie lyrique", *Castor et Pollux*, by the Paris Opéra; the classical dances, which the La Scala ballet academy had originally presented at the Sicilian spectacles of Agrigentum and Taormina; etc. Though the conference of musical critics was not successful, due to poor organization, the radio art convention, lasting five days, brought forth many creative ideas.—JACQUES IBERT remarks, in *Marianne* (July 17), that the following were the only successful novelties of the Paris concert season of 1934—

35: Marcel Delannoy's charming ballet, *La Pantoufle de Vair*, Milhaud's *Concertos de piano et de violoncelle*, Roussel's *Sinfonietta*, Jaubert's *Ballade* and some groups of melodies by Ravel and Beydts.—THE OPÉRA-COMIQUE gave in June Molière's *L'Ecole des Maris*, book by Jacques Laurent and music by Emmanuel Bondeville. The ungrammatical and burlesque score of the young composer, though highly pleasing to the public, shocked Emile Vuillermoz and other critics.—ANDRÉ CŒUROY criticizes in *Gringoire* (July 19), the Conservatoire for teaching in 1935, "exactement comme on enseignait en 1900" without, apparently, realizing the influence of "ces petites révolutions musicales qui s'appellent le disque, la radio, le jazz, les ondes et le film sonore."—JACQUES IBERT remarked, in regard to the Saint-Saëns centenary (*Marianne*, June 19), that whereas, twenty years ago, his works "figuraient régulièrement aux programmes de nos sociétés symphoniques, celles-ci les ont aujourd'hui complètement supprimées de leur répertoire", and that notwithstanding, as Romain Rolland says, he represents "le plus pur esprit classique, la haute culture encyclopédique, fondements de notre art contemporain."—ERNEST CHAUSSON's symphony in B flat (Op. 20), one of the few French contributions to the standard *répertoire*, has been recorded on three records, played by the orchestra of the Paris Conservatory under the direction of Piero Coppola.—LE GRAND PRIX "CANDIDE", awarded annually for the best disks representing *Orchestre, Musique de Chambre, Instruments, Chant, Opéra, Musicologie, Instruments nouveaux, Chansons and Diction*, has become, according to Florent Fels (*Nouvelles Littéraires*, May 18), "une manière de prix Goncourt de la musique." Its Jury consists of the composer, Gustave Charpentier, Member of the Institut, Louis Lumière, Member of the Institut, Mme Colette, Maurice Emmanuel, Professor in the Conservatoire, Jacques Copeau, Jean Perrier, Maurice Ravel, Dominique Sordet, Emile Vuillermoz and Maurice Yvain.—L'ANTHOLOGIE SONORE issued recently disks containing English, French and Italian dance-music of the 13th-14th centuries; Janequin's celebrated *Chant des Oyseaux*, a masterpiece of the Renaissance; Th. de Bèze and Claude Lejeune, *Psalmes 42 et 69*; two psalms of Marot, with music by Goudimel; etc.—GEORGES DEVISE eulogizes, in *Gringoire* (July 12), the new disks by Jean Tranchant, composer and poet, author of *Chansons réalistes* and *Romances*.

MISCELLANEOUS—PROF. BENJ. M. WOODBRIDGE'S ARTICLE on "Hubert Krains", which was published in the last issue of THE ROMANIC REVIEW (XXVI, 1935, pp. 152-158), has been translated into French and has appeared in the *Revue Franco-Belge* (Juin, 1935, pp. 300-314). Prof. Woodbridge has also been made a Knight of the Order of the Crown of Belgium.—THE U. S. GOVERNMENT issued, in July, a volume entitled *Naval Documents Related to the Quasi-War Between the United States and France* (654 pp.), dealing with the depredations of French armed vessels on American commerce from February, 1797 to October, 1798.—PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT received on June 27 from Ambassador de Laboulaye, in behalf of the Franco-American Committee of Paris, a replica of a bust of de Tocqueville as well as a map prepared by the hydrographic office of the French Ministry of Marine showing the travels of French pioneers in America in the 17th and 18th centuries.—A MONUMENT TO JEAN RIBAULT, the Protestant who sought to found a French colony in Florida, was unveiled at Dieppe on July 7.

J. L. G.

